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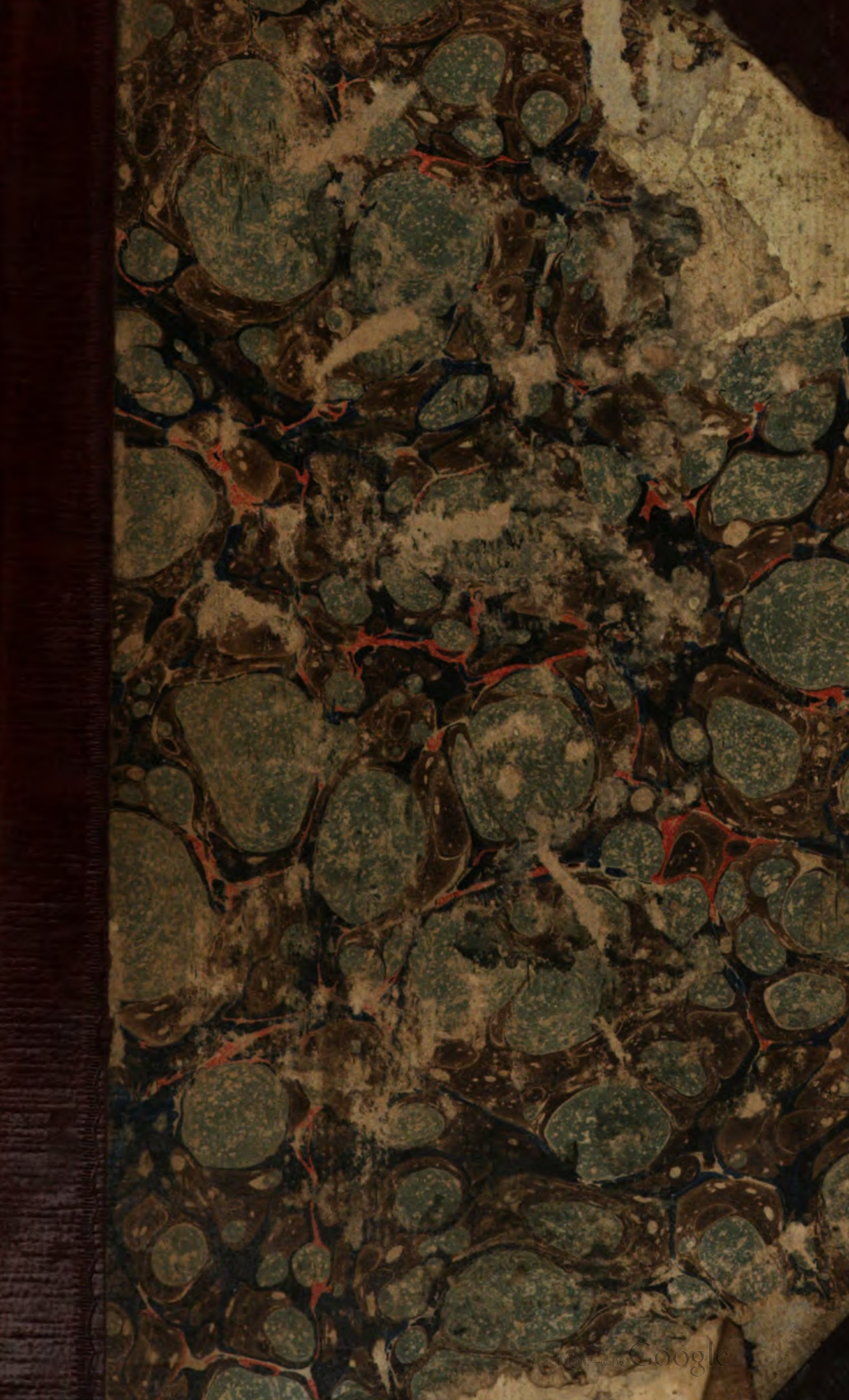
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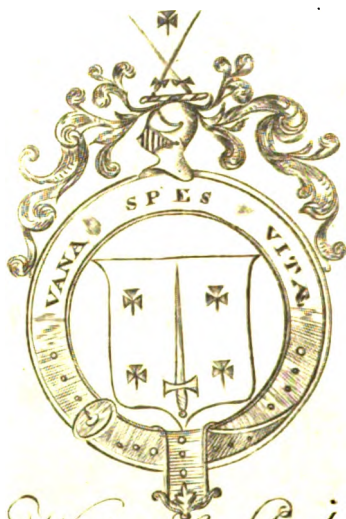
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Engraved by F. Smith for Mr. Greger's History of the French Revolution, and the War.

HISTORY
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION
AND OF
THE WARS

RESULTING FROM THAT MEMORABLE EVENT.

COMPREHENDING

THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY ANNALS OF EUROPE,

FROM THE

Meeting of the States General at Versailles, in 1789,

TO THE

BATTLE OF WATERLOO,

AND THE

SECOND SURRENDER OF PARIS.

COLLECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES.

BY

JOHN JAMES M'GREGOR:

AND EMBELLISHED WITH PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND PLANS.

Now are we well resolved : and by God's help,
And your's, the noble sinews of our power,—
France being ours, we'll bend it to our awe,
Or break it all to pieces.

SHAKESPEARE.

VOL. XI.—PART. II.

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CHAPTER XLII.

Congress at Vienna.—State of France.—Ministry appointed by Louis XVIII.—Meeting of the Legislative Body.—Address of the King.—New Constitutional Charter.—Report on the State of the Nation.—Financial Measures.—Laws for regulating the Press.—Enactment respecting the Emigrants.—Discontents.—Changes in the state of Society caused by the Revolution.—Four Grand Parties.—The ROYALISTS.—The Princes.—The Clergy.—Low state of Religion.—Funeral of Mademoiselle Raucour.—Disinterment of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette.—The JACOBINS.—The BONAPARTISTS.—The Army.—Causes of their attachment to the Imperial Exile, and their dislike of the Bourbon Dynasty.—The CONSTITUTIONALISTS.—Perilous situation of the Royal Government.—Character of Carnot.—His celebrated Pamphlet.—Fouché.—Secret machinations of the Jacobin Party.—Vigilance of the Bonapartists.—Napoleon at Elba.—Conspiracy for his Restoration to Power.—He commences an active Correspondence with France and Naples.—Energetic proceedings of his Partisans in France.—Female Conspirators.—Extension of the Plot throughout the Provinces.—General disaffection of the Army.—The case of General Excelman.—Imbecile conduct of the French Government.

TOWARDS the close of the year the Austrian capital became a grand theatre of diplomacy for the purpose of finally reducing to order and stability

those discordant elements which, during a war of five and twenty years, had shaken to its centre the frame of society throughout Europe. By the Treaty of Paris it had been declared, that all the Powers should send Plenipotentiaries to Vienna, who should in a General Congress, adopt such regulations as might be deemed necessary for carrying the enactments of that Treaty into effect. On the 25th of September the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia made their solemn entry into Vienna, and never was the Austrian Court so brilliant as during the winter of 1814. Exclusive of the Monarchs already mentioned, Francis II. enumerated amongst his guests the Kings of Denmark and Wirtemberg, the King and Queen of Bavaria, the Empress of Russia, the Grand Duchesses of Oldenburgh and Weimar, with several of the younger branches of the Royal houses. Besides the Sovereigns, the Congress was attended by sixty of the ablest diplomatists of Europe.* So much time was

* The respective States were thus represented :—

ENGLAND.—Lord Viscount Castlereagh, Messrs. Cooke, Planta, Ward, Merry, Montague, and Morier.

RUSSIA.—Count Nesselrode, and the Russian Counsellors Von Anstett, Schroeder, and Bulgakoff.

AUSTRIA.—Prince Metternich.

PRUSSIA.—Prince Hardenberg; the Prussian Counsellors Von Humboldt, Von Stein, Zerboni di Posetti, Von Stageman, Von Jordan, and Lieutenant-General Von Knesebeck.

FRANCE.—Prince Talleyrand.

SPAIN.—The Chevalier Gomez Labrador, and his Secretaries Messrs. Machado and Bastillo, Don Perez de Castro.

SARDINIA.—Count S. Morzano.

NAPLES.—The Prince of Rocco Romana, the Duke of Campo Chiaro.

THE POPE.—Cardinal Gonsalvi.

spent in the splendid festivities which the Emperor of Austria had prepared for the reception of these illustrious foreigners, and in the preliminaries for the regulation of this august assembly, that the Congress was not formally installed until the 1st of November. From this period four months were spent in arranging the various equivalents, compensations, and indemnities, to which the several States of Europe were adjudged to be entitled, and the Congress had just closed their deliberations, when an event occurred which threatened once more to change the aspect of political affairs, and completely to overturn all that the Allies had achieved by their wisdom and valour.

But before we enter upon the last Act of the Revolutionary Drama, it may be necessary to trace the causes which facilitated the return of the Imperial Exile in less than a year from the time of his abdication, and forced the Bourbons once more

SICILY.—The Commander Ruffo; the Duke of Sero Capriola.

STATES OF LOMBARDY.—The Marquis Malaspina di Sanazaro, from Pavia; the Marquis Luigi Cavriani, from Mantua; Count Guiseppe Pietro Porro, from Como; Marquis Luigi Dati, and Count Morticelli Strada, from Cremona; Count Silvo Martirago and M. Giacinto Mompiacci, from Brescia.

SAXONY.—Count Von Elding, M. Von Gersdorff, and Counsellor Von Gortz.

BAVARIA.—Field Marshal Prince Wrede.

WURTEMBERG.—Count Von Gorlitz, Counsellor Von Degen, Secretary Pfeiffer, and Count Von Sontheim.

MINOR GERMAN STATES.—M. Von Gagorn for Orange Nassau; M. Von Gartner as Envoy from thirty-six German Princes; The Duke of Saxe-Weimar; the Prince of Salm-Kyrburg; Major Von Zobel for Saxe-Cobourg; the Electoral Prince of Mecklenburgh Strelitz; M. Von Marshal for the Duchy of Nassau; M. Gunther Von Berg for the Principality of Schaumburg; M. Von Kirchbauer for Hohenzollern Seigmaringen; the Baron Von Oernsen for Mecklenburgh Stralitz; Count Munster for Hanover; and the Senator Hatch for Lubec.

SWITZERLAND.—Messrs. La Harpe and Renger.

to fly from a people, who, but a few short months before, had received the long expatriated Louis with all the overflowing gratitude and abject submissiveness of pardoned criminals or repentant prodigals.

When Louis XVIII was restored to the throne of his ancestors, he evinced an earnest desire to repair the evils under which France had suffered during twenty-five years of anarchy and despotism. But the alarming difficulties with which he had to contend, connected with the personal character of the king, which was supposed to possess little decision or energy, raised considerable apprehensions for the continuance and tranquillity of his reign. The chief hope of the monarch and his friends rested on the admitted fact, that notwithstanding the various parties that were still to be found in France, the great body of the people, exhausted by the pressure of the war, were rejoiced at the return of that repose which could alone restore national prosperity; and they calculated, perhaps, without due consideration of the French character, on the permanency of those feelings of ardent loyalty which had been so ostentatiously displayed by the nation on the return of the Bourbons.

The most probable means of realizing these pleasing anticipations would have been the formation of a united and efficient ministry; but the necessary anxiety to please all parties rendered this impracticable. All the members of the Provisional State Council were called to be Royal Mi-

nisters of State : many of them were hacknied in the changes of the Revolution, and could not, consequently, enjoy the confidence of the King beyond the bounds of the province which each administered. Other situations in the Ministry were filled by confidential adherents of the Monarch, who had participated in his various changes of fortune, and from such a combination of discordant materials nothing but a weak and wavering administration could be expected. Dupont, who had been so much persecuted by Bonaparte on account of his surrender at Baylen, was appointed Minister at War. The charge of the Finances was intrusted to the Abbé Louis, who had held several confidential situations under the government of Napoleon. D'Ambray, an ultra-royalist, was placed at the head of the Law Department. M. Ferrand, an emigrant, was entrusted with the direction of the posts, with a seat in the Cabinet, but his secretaries and clerks were all devoted to La Valette, the Post-Master General under Napoleon. Berenger, Director of the *Caisse d'Amortissement*, under Bonaparte, was constituted Director General of the Indirect Taxes. The Abbé Montesquiou, formerly a member of the Constituent Assembly, was named Minister of the Interior. Beugnot, who had been Minister of Finance in the Grand Duchy of Berg, became Director of Police, retaining in his department the principal part of those officers who had served under Fouché and Savary : and Count Blacas d'Aulps, a zealous royalist, was nominated Minis-

ter of the Household. Amongst these none was considered as First Minister, though Count Blacas, who had constantly accompanied the King in exile, was generally esteemed the favorite. There was, unfortunately, no common bond of union in the Cabinet; each Minister's acts and responsibility were strictly bounded within the limits of his own department, and there was no appearance of a governing principle, by which the whole should be directed.—When the first effervescence of loyalty had subsided, and faction was again enabled to rear its head, the effects of this want of co-operation in the government became too fatally apparent.

On the 4th of June, two days after the allied troops had quitted Paris, Louis went in state to the palace of the Legislative Body, in which were assembled the Senators, Peers, and Representatives of the nation. His throne was surrounded by the Princes of the Blood, the Marshals of France, the Ministers, and other Officers of State; and had the fervor of loyalty displayed upon this occasion been equalled by its sincerity, the scene was calculated to make impressions of the most affecting nature. The recollections of all that the King and the people of France had suffered for more than twenty years, while the former was a dependant exile in a foreign land, and the latter a prey to revolution, anarchy, despotism, and all the horrors of civil and foreign warfare, seemed now forgotten, when after a long and arduous struggle for liberty a descendant of their ancient kings took his seat in the

midst of a free Legislature as a Constitutional Sovereign.

The Address of Louis was calculated to cherish those loyal feelings which seemed to surround him on all sides, for while it evinced his sincere wish to promote the happiness and prosperity of his people, it endeavoured to console them for their losses, and held forth in a striking point of view the advantages that were likely to result from the restoration of peace. "Gentlemen," said the King, "surrounded as I am, for the first time, by the Great Officers of State, and the Representatives of a Nation, which unceasingly lavishes on me the most affecting marks of its regard, I congratulate myself on having become the dispenser of those benefits, which Providence has deigned to confer on my people. I have concluded a peace with Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, in which all their Allies are included, that is to say, all the Princes of Christendom. The war was universal; the peace will be equally so. The rank which France has always held amongst the nations has been transferred to no other, and remains in her undivided possession. All that other States acquire as to security tends equally to increase her's, and consequently increases her real power. That portion of her conquests which she does not retain, should not be regarded as detracting from her real strength. The glory of the French armies has received no stain. The monuments of their valour exist, and the *chefs-d'œuvre* of art

“ henceforth belong to us by more stable and sacred rights than those of victory. The paths of commerce which have so long been closed are about to be re-opened. The markets of France will not only be open to the productions of her own soil and industry, but will also be supplied from the possessions which she recovers, with such articles as custom has taught her to want, as well as those which are necessary for the arts she pursues. She will no longer be obliged to deprive herself of them, or to obtain them on ruinous conditions. Our manufactures are about to flourish again, our maritime towns are resuming their activity. Every thing promises that a long calm without, and durable felicity within, will be the happy effects of peace. One sad recollection, however, will always diminish my joy. I was born, and hoped to have remained all my life, the most faithful subject of the best of kings ; but to-day I occupy his place. Still he is not entirely dead ; for he lives in the testament by which he meant to have instructed his august and unfortunate son, whose successor I became. With my eyes fixed on this immortal work, penetrated by the sentiments which it contains, and guided by the experienced counsel of several members of your body, I have framed the Constitutional Charter which will now be read to you, and which fixes the prosperity of the State upon a firm and solid basis.” The Peers and Deputies then took the prescribed oaths, after which

the Chancellor, D'Ambray, in presence of the King, presented the Constitutional Charter, an abstract of which will be found in the subjoined note.*

* The Constitutional Charter was prefaced by a Declaration on the part of the King, from which we may deduce the motives by which he was actuated in not accepting the Charter proposed to him by the Provisional Government. It commenced by asserting that the authority in France rested altogether in the person of the King, but that his predecessors had not hesitated to modify the exercise of it according to the circumstances of the times; that thus the Commons were indebted for their enfranchisement to Louis le Gros, and for their confirmation and extension to St. Louis and Philip le Bel—that the Judicial Order was established and developed by the laws of Louis XI. Henry II. and Charles IX. and finally, that all parts of the public administration were wisely regulated by various ordinances of Louis XIV. In imitation of the conduct of his predecessors, he conceived it to be his duty to appreciate the progress of increasing light, and the new relations which this progress had introduced into society. He had ascertained that the desire of his subjects for a Constitutional Charter was a real want, and in yielding to their wish, he had taken the necessary precautions that this Charter should be worthy of him, and of the people whom he was proud to command, uniting the advantages of a free monarchical institution with the rights and prerogatives of the Crown. For this purpose he had searched for the principles of a Constitutional Charter in the French character, and in the venerable monuments of past ages. In the re-establishment of the Peerage might be seen an institution truly national, which should bind every recollection to every hope, by re-uniting the ancient with the modern times. The Fields of March and May and the Chambers of the Third Estate were replaced by the Chamber of Deputies; and “thus,” said the King, “in studying to join anew the chain of the times, which lamentable breaches had interrupted, we have

The most ardent friends of well-ordered liberty found little to condemn in the New Constitution; but they felt considerable alarm that Louis had refused to enter into any compact emanating from the people; and they concluded from the anxiety

effaced from our recollection, as we wish it was possible to efface from history, all the evils which have afflicted the country during our absence. Happy to find ourselves once more in the bosom of the great family, we know not how to reply to the love of which we received so many testimonies, except by pronouncing words of peace and consolation. The wish most dear to our hearts is, that all Frenchmen should live as brothers, and that no bitter recollection may ever disturb the security to be expected from the solemn deed which we execute in their favour this day. Sure of our intentions, strong in our conscience, we pledge ourselves before the Assembly that hears us, to be faithful to this Constitutional Charter, reserving to ourselves to swear to maintain it, with a new solemnity, before the altars of Him who weighs in the same balance Kings and Nations. For these reasons we have voluntarily, and by the free exercise of our Royal Authority, granted, and do grant, transfer, and make over to our subjects, for ourselves, and for our successors, and for ever, the Constitutional Charter which follows."

This important document consists of 76 Articles, and its bases did not materially differ from that presented for the King's acceptance by the Provisional Government. The first section thus defined the

PUBLIC RIGHTS OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.—All Frenchmen of whatever rank or title are equal in the eye of the law; obliged to contribute in proportion to their property to the burthens of the State, and equally admissible to civil and military employments. Personal liberty is guaranteed, so that no individual can be prosecuted or arrested but according to law. The Catholic religion is declared to be that of the State, but every one may profess his faith with equal freedom, and be protected in its exercise. The

which he manifested to preserve the royal prerogatives inviolate, that he received the crown as an inheritance from his ancestors, not as a gift from the nation.

On the 3d of July the Abbe Montesquiou, Minis-

ministers of the Catholic and Christian modes of worship are alone to receive allowances from the Royal Treasury. The French are allowed the right of printing and publishing their opinions, conforming themselves to the laws repressing the abuse of that liberty. All property is declared inviolable, not excepting that called national; all inquiry into opinions or votes delivered before the Restoration is prohibited; and the Conscription is abolished.

THE GOVERNMENT.—The person of the King is declared to be sacred and inviolable, and to him as Supreme Head of the State is committed the command of the sea and land forces, the power of declaring war, making treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce, and the right of nomination to all public employments. The exercise of the Legislative Power is entrusted to the King, the Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies collectively: the King is to propose the laws either to the Peers or Deputies, with the exception of laws of taxation which must first be addressed to the Chamber of Deputies: every law to be discussed with the greatest freedom, and decided by vote. The Chambers are allowed to petition the King to propose laws, and to suggest what, in their opinion, they ought to contain. The King alone has the power to sanction and promulgate laws. The Civil List is to be fixed by the first Legislature assembled after the King's accession.

THE CHAMBER OF PEERS is declared to be an essential part of the Legislature, to be convoked and closed at the same time with that of the Deputies. The Peers to be nominated by the King for life, or rendered hereditary at his pleasure, and no limit is fixed to their number. Peers cannot enter the Chamber till the age of twenty-five, nor have a deliberative voice until that of thirty. The Chancellor presides in the Chamber of Peers, and the Princes of the

ter of the Interior, presented to the Chamber of Deputies a Report of the State of the Nation when the King assumed the reins of government. This document exhibited a picture of the horrible results of war, which might be consulted with advantage as

Blood are always Peers by right of birth. The Chamber of Peers takes cognizance of all crimes against the State. Peers are only to be judged by their Peers.

THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES is to be chosen by the Electoral Colleges every five years, and to be renewed annually by a fifth. No Deputy can be admitted into the Chamber unless he be forty years of age and pay direct taxes to the amount of a thousand francs, while the electors must be at least thirty years of age, and pay direct taxes to the amount of three hundred francs. The Presidents of the College to be nominated by the King, who also is to appoint the President of the Chamber of Deputies from a list of five members presented by the Chamber. The sitting of the Chamber to be public, but the demand of five members is sufficient for forming it into a Secret Committee. No tax can be imposed or levied, unless assented to by the two Chambers, and sanctioned by the King, who must convoke the Chambers every year. He prorogues them at his pleasure, and may dissolve that of the Deputies; but in this case he must convoke a new one within three months. No personal restraint shall be laid upon any member of the Chamber during the Session, or within six weeks before and after it, and no member during the same period can be prosecuted or arrested for criminal matters without the permission of the Chamber.

The Ministers may be members of either of the Chambers. They have, moreover, a right of admission into either House, and must be heard whenever they desire it. The Chamber of Deputies has a right to impeach the Ministers, (for high treason or peculation only,) before the Peers, who alone are competent to try them.

The Judicial Order.—All justice emanates from the King, who appoints the Judges to administer in his name, and they cannot

an antidote against the thirst of conquest. "History," says the Minister, "presented not any such example of a great nation incessantly precipitated against its will into enterprizes constantly increasing in hazard and distress. The world saw, with astonishment, mingled with terror, a civilized people compelled to exchange its happiness and repose for the wandering life of barbarous hordes. The ties of families were broken; fathers have grown

be removed; but the Justices of Peace, though nominated by the King, are removeable. The Ordinary Courts and Tribunals are retained, and the institutions of the Judges of Commerce preserved. The institution of Juries is also retained; the changes which longer experience may render necessary to make, cannot be done but by law. No man can be taken out of the hands of the constitutional judges; consequently no extraordinary commissions and tribunals can be created; but in this denomination the jurisdictions of Provost-Marshals are not comprehended, if their re-establishment is deemed necessary. The penalty of the confiscation of property is abolished, and cannot be re-established. The King has the right of granting pardon, and of commuting punishments. The civil code and the laws actually existing not contrary to the present Charter, remain in full force till they shall be legally abolished.

The remaining articles confirmed to the military in active service, the officers and soldiers who had retired, and the widows, officers, and soldiers pensioned, their ranks, honours, and pensions; guaranteed the public debt and all engagements contracted by the State with its creditors; permitted the ancient nobility to resume their titles, and the new to retain their's, but these honours were conferred without any exemptions from the charges and duties of society. Finally, it was declared that the Legion of Honor should be maintained, its interior regulations and decorations to be fixed by the King.

old far from their children; and children have been hurried off to die four hundred leagues from their fathers. No hope of return soothed this frightful separation; habit had caused it to be regarded as eternal; and the peasants of Brittany, after conducting their sons to the place of separation, have been seen to return to their churches to put up for them by anticipation the prayers for the dead!" The Report stated that since the Russian campaign, which was little more than two years, the conscription amounted to no less than one million three hundred thousand souls, so that it was not too much to suppose that one million, the flower of the youth and manhood of France, perished by fatigue, disease, and the sword, within that short space. From this some estimate might be formed of the losses which the nation must have suffered during the past two-and-twenty years. The wars of 1812, 1813, and 1814 had caused a loss of 230,000 horses, and in cannon and ammunition, of 250,000,000 of livres, and the fortified places ceded by France had, since 1804, cost her 115,000,000. The army on the 1st of May was stated to have amounted to 560,000 men, besides 122,600 enjoying half-pay, and about 160,000 prisoners who were returning from different countries. The state of the naval department exhibited a picture still more deplorable. From the period of the projected invasion of England, gigantic efforts had been made to render France a great naval power; one hundred and fifty millions of livres had been sacrificed to this visionary project, of which no trace now re-

mained but a few rotten vessels, and works constructed at immense expense abandoned to the winds and tides, which were daily burying them in sand. The arsenals were dilapidated, the immense naval stores collected by Louis XVI. wasted away, and latterly seamen had been regarded as only eventual recruits for the army. Thus, while apparently intent upon forming the *matériel* of a naval power, Bonaparte annihilated the very profession of the sailors, through whose means alone it could be rendered efficient and formidable.

Speaking of the state of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the Report acknowledged that the former had made real progress in France; this had commenced before the Revolution, and was greatly accelerated by the propagation of improved modes of agriculture by learned societies, by the residence of a number of rich proprietors in the country, and by other causes; but the errors and faults of the government had greatly impeded the operation of these causes. The continental system had been ruinous to the vineyards in different parts, and the forced attempts to introduce the Merino breed of sheep, had rather tended to the deterioration than to the improvement of the flocks. A sensible increase had taken place in the working of mines, but manufactures had greatly suffered from the obstacles to the importation of raw materials, and the impediments to foreign demand. At Lyons the looms, of which in 1787 there were 15,000, were diminished in the late war to 8000; the

other manufactures had experienced a similar declension, and commerce had been reduced to narrow speculations with small gains. In the administration of the Interior the public burdens were greatly augmented, and the funds diverted from their proper objects—the hospitals were in a wretched state, the War Department being indebted to those of Paris for sick and wounded soldiers alone near 1,400,000 francs. Some public works had been undertaken from motives of utility, and others from ostentation, or for purposes unconnected with the advantage of the country.—Thus, while magnificent roads were opened on the frontiers, those of the interior were neglected. Though the canals were in a better state, their completion would require much additional expense.

On the subject of Finances the Report placed Napoleon's deceptive policy in a singularly striking point of view. Annual expositions of national receipt and expenditure had been periodically published during his government, which were to all appearance perfectly accurate and encouraging. But in reality a number of extraordinary expenses were withheld from public view, while the produce of the taxes was over-estimated. Thus, the budgets of 1812 and 1813, upon close examination, exhibited a deficit of 312,000,000 francs, or thirteen millions sterling. Bonaparte, though acquainted with this fact, concealed it from the eyes of the nation, in hopes of replacing it, as in his more suc-

cessful days, by foreign tribute. Upon the whole the public debt of France appeared to have increased in thirteen years to 1,645,469,000 francs, or more than sixty-eight millions and a-half of sterling money.

The Report then noticed the moral state of the country and that of public instruction, and concluded with a presage which was too soon fulfilled. "Unhappily," said the Report, "we cannot restore at once to France those moral habits and that public spirit which cruel misfortunes and long oppression have almost annihilated! Noble sentiments were opposed; generous ideas were stifled; the government, not content with condemning to inaction the virtues which it dreaded, excited and fomented the passions which could do it service; to suppress public spirit it called personal interest to its aid; it offered its favours to ambition in order to silence conscience; it left no other state but that of serving it; no other hopes but those which it alone could fulfil; no ambition appeared indiscreet, no pretension exaggerated; hence that incessant agitation of all interests and all wishes; hence that instability of situation which left hardly any man the virtues of his condition, because all thought of emerging from it; hence, in fine, incessant attacks upon every kind of probity by seduction, against which the most generous characters could hardly defend themselves. Such were the melancholy effects of that destructive system which we have now to combat. The difficulties of

the moment are great, but much may be expected from time; the nation will feel that its zealous concurrence is necessary to hasten the return of its own happiness; its confidence in the intentions of its King, the lights and wisdom of the two Chambers, will render the task of government more easy. If any thing can prevent the speedy realization of those hopes, it will be that restless turbulence which wishes to enjoy without delay, the blessings of which it has the prospect."

The financial details were presented to the Chamber of Deputies by Baron Louis. They stated that had the boundless system of extravagance with which the year commenced been continued, the expenditure would have exceeded twelve hundred millions of francs; but the return of peace, and strict attention to economy, would reduce it one third, while it was calculated that the expenditure of 1815 would be little more than six hundred millions. The state of the Treasury, however, and the number of brave men to be paid, prevented the abolition of the *droits reunies* which the King had authorised his brother to promise to the French nation. Some measures were proposed for the gradual liquidation of the public debt which was stated to exceed 1,600,000,000; the payments of the King's debts and those of his family, amounting to thirty millions, was unanimously voted; the Civil List was fixed at twenty-five millions annually, and the yearly sum of eight millions was assigned to the other branches of the Royal Family.

The Press, that powerful instrument of good and evil, occupied a considerable portion of the attention of the French Legislature during the present Session. Since the Restoration innumerable libels on the new dynasty had been circulated among the soldiers and citizens, the authors of which were unknown, and the printers irresponsible. The government naturally became alarmed, and such a state of things could alone extenuate even a temporary restraint on that absolute freedom from previous censorship which the public press should enjoy in every free State. It is only through the press that the misconduct of public men can be arraigned before their own and future ages ; it has often been the only medium by which truth could be conveyed to the ear of the Monarch ; and no nation can be truly free, where this grand organ of public opinion is allowed to speak only by the permission of Censors named by the Sovereign.

The present situation of the country, however, justified this measure in the opinion of a majority of the French Legislature, who placed at the King's pleasure the general control of the national press. By the law passed upon this occasion, every work of more than twenty sheets was permitted to be published without censorial revision, as well as works in the dead and foreign languages, prayer-books, catechisms, law reports, and works of scientific societies established by royal authority. With regard to books of less bulk, the proper officers might require their communication ; and if, after

examination, the Censor named by the King considered them defamatory, dangerous to the public peace, or immoral, their publication was prohibited. But the reasons of the Censors were to be communicated to a committee consisting of three members of each Chamber, and three commissioners appointed by the King; and if these reasons should appear insufficient, the committee might order the printing. No journals or periodical writings could be issued without the King's authority—no person to be a book-seller without the King's license—clandestine printing establishments to be destroyed and the proprietors fined and imprisoned—and the omission of the printer's name or the substitution of a false one was punishable by a fine. The law did not pass without violent opposition, and its operation was limited to two years.—This measure, however, did not answer the purpose for which it was intended; means were found to evade the law, and it only afforded a pretext to the disaffected to excite alarm, which was still farther increased by incautious hints respecting the Emigrants and the National Domains.—On the 10th of December, a plan was proposed by Marshal Macdonald, and afterwards sanctioned by the Legislature, which appeared calculated to silence every apprehension on these points. According to this plan it was resolved to re-establish the Emigrants in such privileges as they had lost by their departure from their native country, as far as those privileges were consistent with the present

Constitution, to restore to them such parts of their property as had not been sold, and to allow them an annuity of two and a-half per cent. upon the aggregate value of all property which had been disposed of.

Such were the principal proceedings of the first Session of the French Legislature under the Constitutional Monarch, but it very soon became evident that the throne of Louis was not yet fixed so firmly as to risk the slightest infringement of the Charter. The enthusiasm manifested by the French at the King's restoration had speedily subsided, and before the Session closed it was succeeded by suspicion and discontent. The impetuous temper of the nation would make no allowance for the trying circumstances in which the Sovereign was placed, and having indulged the most romantic hopes that the restoration of royalty would instantly obliterate every trace of past calamity, the people became dissatisfied because these hopes could not be quickly realized. The state of society had been greatly changed since the commencement of the Revolution. The estates of the ancient Noblesse were parcelled out among the peasantry, who had been anxious to purchase as much land as would suffice for their subsistence, and at the same time entitle them to vote at the election of the National Representatives. An improved education accompanied this elevation in the scale of society, but wanting those principles which true religion can alone inspire, this imper-

fect illumination only led them farther into error and crime. They had rejoiced at their deliverance from the government of Bonaparte, who had so wantonly lavished the blood of their children ; but no sooner had that fervor of enthusiasm abated which marked the return of the Bourbons, than their fears began to be excited, that the property which they possessed would at no very distant day be reclaimed by those who had once been their masters. Every act of Louis had given the most satisfactory assurance that he had not the most distant intention of disturbing the proprietors of the National Domains ; but he was not able to stifle the murmurs of the impoverished companions of his exile, who sometimes had not sufficient prudence to restrain the expression of their hopes, that when he was firmly seated on his throne, they would be restored to the rights and properties of their ancestors. To strengthen the fears thus naturally excited, a small but active band in the interest of Napoleon spread themselves through the Departments under the pretext of purchasing land ; and they rejected with studied contempt every offer of that species of property called National, insinuating that it would be speedily reclaimed by the government. These lands, consequently, became so depressed in value, as not to be considered worth more than two or three years purchase ; and the dread of losing their property, led many to wish for the return of that government under which alone they conceived it could be secure.

The same causes tended to alienate the affections of the middle classes from the new government ; but to these others were to be added, which in their estimation, possessed equal weight. Before the Revolution they had been excluded from military rank and from most civil offices, and this produced a hatred between the Noblesse and the Bourgeois which was proverbial. At the Revolution the latter triumphed, and rushed into those stations which the former were forced to abandon. They hailed the return of the Bourbons, because they were disgusted with the tyranny of Bonaparte, but they soon perceived that the ancient Nobles were unwilling to acknowledge their newly-acquired privileges ; they considered the ill-disguised coldness or aversion with which they were viewed by the old courtiers as a presage of greater evils, and they began to tremble lest their possessions should return to their ancient proprietors. These and other causes of a minor nature which we shall notice hereafter, spread the seeds of disaffection through th nation with amazing rapidity, and before the close of the year the French were divided into four grand parties, Royalists, Bonapartists, Republicans, and Constitutionalists.

Of these the smallest party were the Royalists, or decided friends of the Bourbons, consisting almost exclusively of the emigrant nobles and the clergy. The former were now so greatly reduced in number, that in the House of Peers composed of one hundred and seventy members, only thirty had

seats; the remainder were those Marshals, Generals, and Statesmen, whom the Revolution had elevated to rank and wealth. The delicate situation in which the King was placed obliged him to be cautious in the distribution of his favours, and some of the companions of his exile, who conceived themselves neglected, had the imprudence to express their complaints on this subject, sometimes mingled with threats, that their day of triumph might yet arrive. Monsieur and his two sons, the Dukes of Angouleme and Berri, were the acknowledged leaders of this party, who affected to be better Royalists than the King himself: they beheld with jealousy every concession in favour of liberty, they ardently wished for the re-establishment of the former arbitrary government, and it was feared that the opportunities which they enjoyed of continually surrounding his person, might one day cause the Monarch to depart from those liberal views which had hitherto guided his conduct. The violence of the Duke of Berri* rendered him peculiarly unpopular, and Louis was frequently under the necessity of repairing by some act of kindness the excesses of his kinsman. There can be little doubt that the Clergy were sincerely attached to the

* The Duke of Berri, upon one occasion, tore the epaulet from the coat of a subaltern of high reputation; but the King quickly soothed the feelings of the insulted officer by giving him promotion, and he assured him that the Duke's violence only meant that *one* epaulet was misplaced on the person of one who so well deserved to wear *two*, to which he now gave him the right.

Royal cause ; but as the property of the Church had shared the same fate with that of the Nobles, the Clergy of France had lost that influence which always accompanies wealth ; their number had greatly decreased, as during the last twenty years a contempt for all religion had become almost universal ; and the salary of a curate was so miserably small, (five hundred livres, or £26 ls. 8d.) that few young men were willing to be educated for the Church. In consequence of this, many parishes were for years destitute of public worship ; public morals became dreadfully relaxed, and these circumstances favoured the growth of those principles of infidelity which were so widely sown at the commencement of the Revolution. The means adopted by the new government for checking these evils, though many of them were laudable and in strict conformity with the laws of Christianity, became subjects of contempt and ridicule to a depraved and dissolute population, and while the Parisian shopkeepers loudly exclaimed against the Royal edict which commanded them to suspend their traffic on the Sabbath, persons of every class were equally irritated by the order for closing the theatres on that sacred day.*

These efforts to render the outward observan-

* Two events occurred in the month of January, 1815, which afforded to the disaffected fresh grounds for infusing into the minds of the people suspicions of the ultimate intentions of the Court. The first was the refusal of the Clergy to permit the remains of

ces of religion respected, the King's known devotedness to the Clergy, and the marks of favour which he had bestowed on some of his faithful adherents in La Vendée and Brittany, afforded ample materials for comment to the Jacobin, or

Mademoiselle Raucour, a celebrated actress, to be interred in the Church of St. Roche. A deputation was sent to the King to solicit his interference, but his Majesty excused himself by saying that he could not interpose in matters of spiritual jurisdiction. This reply only tended to increase the tumult; the church doors were forced open, and a second deputation presented a declaration to his Majesty that all the theatrical performers were determined to become Protestants, if the rites of sepulture were denied to them by the Catholic Church. This menace produced the desired effect, and Mademoiselle Raucour was interred amid shouts of *a bas les Calottes—à bas la cagoterie, &c.* which were vociferated by twenty thousand people. The troops on duty seemed more disposed to encourage than repress the violence of the multitude.

A natural and praiseworthy feeling of fraternal affection had led the King to institute a perpetual mass for the souls of the unfortunate Louis XVI. and his consort, whose remains were ordered to be removed to the Cathedral of St. Denis on the 21st of January, being the twenty-second anniversary of that dreadful act of regicide which was productive of such bitter fruits to Europe. That day was directed to be observed as a solemn fast throughout France, and the military in every town were required to attend the public mass, a mandate which they considered as a species of punishment on all who were concerned in the deed or connected with the parties of that day. They obeyed it with manifest reluctance, and in almost every place, they seemed disposed to break forth into open mutiny. The disinterment of the unfortunate Monarch and his consort took place on the 18th, at the cemetery of Magdaloine, in the presence of the Chancellor, Count de Blacas, and others. In the grave of Marie Antoinette was found under a thick layer of

patriotic party, as they designated themselves. This faction was less formidable for its number than its talents and reviving audacity. It consisted chiefly of those generals, public functionaries, men of letters, and philosophers, who had figured under the short-lived Republic, and who, unappalled by the extent of crime and the oceans of blood which had been the result of their insane projects, were still ready to re-commence their perilous labours, equally regardless of their own safety or the welfare of their country. Under the vigilant administration of Napoleon this faction had dwindled into insignificance, every effort to recover

time, a distinct impression of a coffin, several of the planks being still sound: a number of bones were collected, and the head was found entire. Some fragments of clothing were also discovered, particularly two elastic garters, which with two pieces of the coffin were given to his Majesty. In the grave of Louis the bones were much corroded and ready to fall to dust: the head was covered with lime, and placed between two leg bones, but no trace of clothes could be discovered. These scanty relics of fallen royalty were afterwards placed in leaden coffins and carried in solemn procession to the church of St. Denis. Marshals Soult and Oudinot held the pall over the coffin of Louis XVI. while that of the Queen was held by M. M. Barthelemy and Lainé, the Presidents of the two Chambers. The ridicule of the Parisians was excited by the sight of those children of the Revolution acting as pall-bearers on this occasion; but this must have given place to feelings of a very different nature, when amongst the assistants were observed M. Hue, the faithful attendant of Louis till his death, M. Deséze, who had so ably vindicated him at the bar of the Convention, and M. Descloiseaux, who had preserved and watched over his mortal remains.

their former ascendancy having been quickly repressed; but the comparative weakness of the Bourbon government inspired the party with new hopes, and they rejoiced in the increase of liberty granted by the National Charter, only because they conceived it procured for them greater facilities for again overturning the throne when a favourable opportunity presented itself. Of this party Carnot, who through all the stages of the Revolution, had maintained the character of a stern republican, and the more pliant Fouchè were the ostensible leaders.

The Imperialists or Bonapartists formed a party still more to be dreaded. It numbered in its ranks all those public functionaries who had been displaced by the Bourbon government, and the majority of the lower classes whom the victories and largesses of Napoleon had estranged from the Jacobins. But its principal strength lay in the army, which notwithstanding the assiduity of Louis to cultivate the affections and soothe the prejudices of the soldiers, was still devotedly attached to that warlike chieftain who had so often conducted them to victory. It may, at first sight, appear cause of wonder, that the recent disasters in which his ungovernable ambition had involved them and their country had not alienated their affections from him; but notwithstanding the dark cloud which now obscured the splendor of his military character, they indulged a fond hope, that his career of glory had not terminated, and that they were yet destined

to retrieve under his guidance the fallen honours of their country. The line of policy pursued by Bonaparte with regard to the army had been well calculated to excite in the breasts of the soldiery a personal attachment to him, on which alone the preservation of his authority depended. For this purpose he encouraged the officers and soldiers of every rank to present to him in person their petitions and complaints; and while he generally treated his Marshals and Generals with coldness and reserve, he practised the most condescending familiarity with those of inferior rank. As all honours and preferments emanated from him, the survivors in the day of battle were consoled for the loss of their comrades and their own sufferings by the Imperial favors which were lavished on them. The immediate friends of the slain might mourn in secret for the loss of their slaughtered sons or brothers, but this impeded not the triumphal car of the victor, who found little difficulty in replenishing his ranks from amongst a people, who had placed their lives and fortunes at his disposal, and with whom the love of martial glory had become the predominant passion. The French Army had been so long and so firmly persuaded of the invincibility of Napoleon's military genius, that when the most dreadful reverses occurred, they attributed them to the elements, to treachery, or to any other cause rather than to a failure of talent in their great leader, or any superiority on the side of their enemies; and

to such men the loss of their fancied military ascendancy must have appeared the greatest misfortune that could befall them. They saw, therefore, in the peace forced upon France by foreign bayonets, in the restoration of the Bourbons by the same means, and the restriction of their country within her ancient limits nothing but national degradation, while it presented a barrier to their individual promotion and to the captivating facilities of acquiring and dissipating wealth by the licensed plunders of Bonaparte's campaigns. The late Imperial Guard (now designated the Royal Guard,) expressed their opinions so unequivocally on these topics, that they were deprived of the privilege of guarding the King's person, the care of which was entrusted to about two thousand household troops, who were selected as approved royalists.

Animated by such feelings, it was natural that the army should watch all the motions of the Court with a jealous eye; and the circumstances of peculiar difficulty in which Louis was placed compelled him to adopt some measures which afforded them plausible grounds of fresh discontent. The first of these was the rejection of the national colours and the restoration of the white flag and cockade. To this the soldiers submitted with sullen tranquillity, but they carefully concealed their cockades in their knapsacks, hoping that they would speedily mount them again under their favourite leader. It is said that the King wavered on this subject, but at length yielding to the advice of some of his

courtiers, he consented to a measure which was productive of the most fatal consequences. Other causes of complaint were found in the kindness which the King had manifested for the brave inhabitants of La Vendée and Brittany, who during the long period of his exile had not ceased to evince the most devoted attachment to his family ; and in the prodigality with which he distributed the Crosses of the Legion of Honour, which was said to be intended to bring the Order into disrepute.

An occasion of discontent, probably more just, was to be found in the manner in which promotion was conferred. The military service of the emigrants was considered as having been continued during the period of their exile with the King, and from this the army conjectured that the superior ranks were soon likely to be filled by them. Facts in many instances confirmed those suspicions. Old men beyond the age of service, and young men who had never known it, were placed in situations to which many of Napoleon's officers conceived themselves entitled by their honours and their scars. They regarded not the cruel situation in which the King was placed, who had no other immediate means of discharging the debt of gratitude which he owed to his ancient friends and adherents. Their minds became irritated, and the secret agents of Napoleon were active in fanning the flame of discontent. To the regiments to which these new officers were attached they incessantly repeated, "There is a plot of the Royalists against you.

The Bourbons cannot think themselves safe, while those who shared the triumphs of Napoleon have either honour or existence. Your ranks are subjected to the command of dotards, who have never drawn a sword in battle, and who have served only in the emigrant bands of Condé, or among the insurgent Chouans and Vendéans. What security have you against being disbanded on a day's notice? And if the obligations of the government to you bind them, as it would seem so slightly, will you consider your's to them as of a stricter description?"

The return of one hundred and fifty thousand prisoners from Russia and England without means of subsistence increased the spirit of discontent among the military. No sooner, indeed, had they set foot on the soil of France than they were liberally supplied with money to enable them to rejoin their standards or return to their families; but not content with this, they insolently demanded the arrears of pay amounting to an enormous sum, which had accumulated during the period of their captivity, and a recompense for those services which they had rendered to Napoleon. During the delay which was necessary to adjust their claims, the soldiers uttered the most bitter reproaches against the government, and when from the state of the finances it was necessary to disband several regiments, this was openly declared to be a breach of faith on the part of the King, and the troops seemed eager for some pretext to renounce their allegiance.

The great body of the nation, however, were neither Royalists, Republicans, nor Bonapartists, but **CONSTITUTIONALISTS**. They were inimical to the re-establishment of the ancient despotism, because to its overthrow they were indebted for the property and the privileges which they possessed. They were equally averse to the government of Bonaparte, because they considered that the martial glory acquired under it had been too dearly purchased by his bloody wars, his cruel conscriptions, his oppressive system of taxation, and the certain conviction that there could be no lasting peace in Europe under his administration. They dreaded still more a second Revolution, and the return of the Jacobins to power, and against each of those evils they considered that their greatest safeguard was the constitutional government of the King, in whose good sense, humanity, justice, and moderation, they placed the greatest confidence. But their attachment was somewhat weakened by the marked disrespect with which their representative M. de la Fayette was received on his first appearance at Court, and they were either deficient in that energy which characterised all the other parties, or the enthusiasm with which they at first received the King, was considerably neutralized by his inability to fulfil his brother's promise respecting the abolition of the taxes denominated *les droits réunis*: and ultimately, the prudent caution with which the majority of the Constitutionalists appeared to act, manifested a determination to

adhere to any party which happened to gain a superiority.

The government of Louis was, from the collision of these factions, exposed to the greatest peril, and the peculiarity of his situation precluded him from the possibility of forming a Ministry whose skill and honesty might have extricated him from the difficulties by which he was surrounded. The companions of his exile were unpopular from former recollections, and they were strangers to the new manners and ideas of the French which they secretly detested. On the affection or fidelity of the agents of Napoleon the King could place but slight dependence, while he felt an invincible reluctance to ally himself with men who had been in any way connected with the death of his unfortunate brother. Thus painfully circumstanced, it is not surprising that some acts of imprudence should mark the first year of his administration: still his greatest foes were ready to admit the purity of his intentions, and the justice and benevolence which marked all his conduct. France had not, at any period, enjoyed more real liberty: no persuasion could induce him to seek revenge for his past sufferings, and neither person or property was violated in a single instance.

Before the close of the year it became evident that a powerful conspiracy was in embryo against the new government: It was darkly hinted in a pamphlet published by Carnot, which was widely circulated. This celebrated revolutionist had, after

the death of Robespierre, been condemned to transportation, but he was afterwards pardoned, and became Minister of War under the Directory. Unlike many others, he maintained his consistency as a rigid republican, for when he perceived the ambitious designs of Napoleon, he retired from office, and voted against his elevation, first to the Consulate for life, and afterwards to the imperial dignity. From this period he lived as a private citizen until the invasion of France by the Allies in 1814, when dreading the return of the Bourbons more than he hated the government of Napoleon, he offered his services to the latter for the defence of Antwerp. After the Peace of Paris, he sent in a reluctant adhesion to the royal government, and was restored to his rank of Inspector General of Engineers. But the publication of his Memorial against the Bourbons gave convincing proof that the degree of favour and security which he enjoyed was not sufficient to make any change in his principles—it was indeed natural, that he who had voted for the death of Louis XVI. could expect nothing more than safety and protection from his brother and successor.

The inflammatory production of Carnot exaggerated all the faults committed by the restored family since their return, and while it maintained a shew of respect for the reigning sovereign, charged the princes and nobles with meditating the ruin of France. To their pusillanimity it attributed the death of the late King, and not to the violence or cruelty of his persecu-

tors, ("as if," says a sensible writer, "one of a band of robbers should impute an assassination not to their own guilty violence, but to the cowardice of the domestics of the murdered, by whom that violence might have been resisted." It then dwelt in the usual popular way on the crimes of kings and priests, and charged Louis XVIII. with being ungrateful to the call of the nation, a call which assuredly he would never have heard but for the cannon of the Allies,—with having termed himself King by the Grace of God,—with resigning Belgium when Carnot was actually governor of Antwerp,—with preferring Chouans, Vendéans, Emigrants, Cossacks, or Englishmen to the soldiers whose victories had kept them in exile, and whose defeat alone had restored him to the throne of his fathers. Finally, it asserted, that notwithstanding all government has its basis in popular opinion, history proves that "the people are only regarded as the victims of their chiefs; we witness nothing but the contest of subjects for the private interest of their Princes,—Kings who are themselves regicides, and parricides,—and priests who excite mankind to mutual slaughter." The government ordered the printers and venders of this dangerous publication to be prosecuted, but *Le Cour d'Instruction Criminelle* refused to confirm the Bill of Indictment, and the Ministers, conscious of their own weakness, thought it advisable to take no proceedings against the avowed author.

While the malcontents found in Carnot a leader of true republican spirit and great military talent,

they possessed in Fouché one not less qualified for the situation by his talents as a politician. This man, whose revolutionary crimes, as the agent of Robespierre, and the associate of Collot d'Herbois, were recorded in bloody characters at Nantes, at Nevers, and Lyons, found shelter under the protection of Tallien, when vengeance seized his sanguinary comrades. He then denounced the Club of Jacobins, at which he had frequently presided, and no sooner had Napoleon seized the reins of government, than he came forward with ardour to acknowledge his authority. This devotion to the interests of the Emperor was amply rewarded: Fouché became a senator, a duke, and a peer of France, and he was appointed to fill the important office of Minister of Police, which he held for ten years, watching by his spies the intrigues of every party, and carrying into effect without scruple, every plan which was considered necessary to the safety of the government. Having at length, from some unknown cause, lost the confidence of his master, his republican friends again took him into favour; but on the restoration he was unwilling to risk the immense wealth which he had acquired by engaging in any hazardous enterprize before he had ascertained the probable stability of the Bourbon government. Having acknowledged its sovereignty, he solicited and obtained an audience of the King, to whom he is said to have recommended the organization of a police, which would be effectual for the security of the government,

without being odious or oppressive to the people. He was received with courtesy, but it was scarcely to be expected that Louis would willingly place confidence in a person stained with so many revolutionary crimes. Losing all hopes of the royal favor, Fouché placed himself once more at the head of the Jacobins, who now began to exert all their influence to fill the minds of the people with contempt and hatred for a government, whose object, they said, was to divide the nation into two classes—the emigrants, who alone were regarded as faithful subjects, and the rest of the nation who were considered by the Bourbons, at best but repentant rebels. They insinuated that the government was preparing for ulterior objects by displacing all who had taken an active share in the events of the Revolution, and by disbanding the army under the pretext of national economy. Louis, they insisted, had insulted France by renouncing the colours under which she had been victorious for twenty-five years, and rudely refusing a crown offered him by the people, which he snatched as his own by right of inheritance. Secret measures were at the same time adopted for exciting apprehensions respecting the security of the national domains. In the theatres, at this time, the people indulged in the most scurrilous invectives against foreigners, particularly the English, whom they were taught to consider as their bitterest enemies, and the appointment of the Duke of Wellington as Ambassador

to the French Court was represented as a studied insult to the nation.

The return of Bonaparte appears not to have been at first contemplated by those intriguers, whose object was the establishment of their favourite republic, or at least a republican monarchy. They are said to have turned their eyes on the Duke of Orleans, and even to have given him some intimation of their anxiety to see him seated on the throne; but the Duke communicated the circumstance to the King, and acted otherwise with such prudence as to deprive the Jacobins of all hopes of his co-operation. The government, however, took no other steps to check this spirit of disaffection and intrigue than by flattering the army with the prospect of speedy hostilities, and appointing Marshal Soult Minister of the War Department.

The partisans of Napoleon lost no opportunity of communicating to him the progress of these discontents, intelligence which was calculated to cherish, or at least revive, a hope that he would yet regain that power which had ever been the darling object of his ambition. An expression had escaped him, before his embarkation for Elba, which proved that this hope had not become extinct by his abdication—"Had Marius slain himself in the marshes of Minturnæ, he would not have enjoyed his seventh Consulate." But whatever may have been his ultimate views, he no sooner took possession of the petty sovereignty which had been allotted

to him, than he affected to be not only contented but delighted with his change of circumstances—and he declared that he felt extreme happiness in anticipating the tranquil pleasures which he should enjoy at Porto Ferrajo, far from the intrigues of courts, and with abundant leisure to indulge in scientific pursuits. The same activity which marked his character when a world was his sphere of action, was evinced in his efforts to complete the fortifications and embellishments of his little capital, and to improve the resources of the Island of Elba. He often rose before day, and employed himself in his library for several hours. He then visited all the works, and after breakfast reviewed his little army, requiring the greatest regularity in all their manœuvres, and causing as strict discipline to be observed as when he was at the head of a million of men. He spent a great part of the day in the management of his house both at Porto Ferrajo and Saint Martin, entering into the most trifling details of domestic and rural economy. In his rides he was constantly attended by Generals Bertrand and Drouet, and as he passed along he gave audience to all whom he met, and shewed the greatest anxiety to redress their complaints. At dinner he was affable and courteous; and the conversation was carried on without the smallest restraint. Napoleon dedicated his evenings to family parties.

He received the numerous strangers who visited him with extraordinary grace and familiarity, ap-

pearing like Dioclesian at Salonica, to have forgotten his former greatness amidst the substantial pleasures which a state of tranquil mediocrity afforded to him: he seemed anxious to impress on the minds of his hearers that he considered his political career as at an end, and he frequently entered into explanations of such passages in his past life as had chiefly incurred the censure of the world. He palliated, though he did not deny, the massacre at Jaffa, the murder of the Duke D'Enghien, and other enormities, and he acknowledged the error he had committed in undertaking the expedition to Russia. He descanted with great fluency and earnestness on the last campaign, the result of which he attributed not to the skill or bravery of the Allies, but to the treachery of his own Marshals, particularly Marmont and Angereau. He did justice, however, to Blucher, whom he called "an old devil." "*Ce vieux diable,*" said he, "never gave me any rest. I beat him to day—good, he attacked me to-morrow. I beat him in the morning—he was ready to fight again in the evening. He suffered enormous losses, and, according to all calculation, ought to have thought himself too happy to be allowed to retire unmolested, instead of which he immediately advanced upon me again, *Ah! le vieux diable.*" He said that Louis XVIII. was a good man with some talent—that Monsieur had the manners of a gentleman, but had no application; and that the Dukes of

Angouleme and Berri were good for nothing. He called the Emperor Alexander a mere shuttlecock, though very artful; the King of Prussia a good but an extremely weak man; the Pope an obstinate old monk; and of Talleyrand he spoke in terms of the greatest asperity. He suited his conversation to the various professions or talents of his visitors. To the philosophers he talked of the French Institute, the Royal Academy of London, and the recent discoveries in science; to the English landholder of the improvements in agriculture; and to the military of the History of his Campaigns which he was writing. Some English noblemen who visited Porto Ferrajo were treated with fêtes by Napoleon, and they quitted the island charmed with the hospitable reception which they had experienced.

The improvements effected in Elba during the ten months residence of this extraordinary man were inconceivable. Palaces were built, new roads commenced, waste grounds brought under tillage, mines explored, and industry extended itself through so many various channels, that prosperity and comfort became every where visible. This active and benevolent line of conduct pursued by Napoleon has been attributed, by some, to the deepest policy, in order to cover his ulterior projects, whilst it is affirmed by others, that for several months after his abdication, he had sincerely renounced every ambitious design. But though it is impossible to say to which of those opinions the

greatest credit is due, it is certain that the proceedings of Napoleon at Elba tended to excite considerable interest in his favor, not only in France but throughout Europe. A romantic pleasure was felt in hearing the hero, who for twenty years had filled the world with his fame, now pleading his own cause when retired from the bustle of politics and the din of arms. Palliations and excuses were found for his greatest enormities, and the energy which he exhibited within the limited circle of his dominions was eagerly contrasted with the natural inertness of the restored Monarch. The public mind in France was, at this time, prepared to think more favorably of the Imperial Exile, and in proportion as the first enthusiasm in favor of the Bourbons faded into indifference or gave place to aversion, the former horror of Napoleon's tyranny and love for war yielded to admiration of his active and enterprising qualities.

In the autumn Napoleon received a visit from some of his family and friends who had just left Paris. From that period a marked change took place in the whole of his conduct. He almost secluded himself from society, and particularly shunned the company of Sir Neil Campbell, the British accredited agent, for whom he had previously evinced the strongest predilection. He often passed seven or eight successive hours in his private closet, and he sometimes wandered on the shore with folded arms, and agitated step, pondering, no doubt, the hazardous game on which he

was about to stake all that remained to him of his former glory. He now kept up an active correspondence both with France and Naples, Murat having become suspicious of the designs of the Allies, respecting himself, from the persevering enmity manifested towards him by Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna. The co-operation of Murat would be a point of extreme moment to the project of Napoleon, as a Neapolitan army if it could approach the north of Italy, would secure his safety if he should meet with a check at the outset of his expedition. To effect this desirable object Pauline Borghese, the sister of Napoleon, made several voyages between Elba and Naples.

In the mean time, the partisans of the Imperial Exile were particularly active in France, and their efforts were unwittingly seconded by fresh instances of arrogance and imprudence on the part of the Royalists. By some of the clergy hints were thrown out respecting the re-establishment of tythes, and the invalidity of all marriages celebrated since the Revolution in which the ceremonies of the church had been omitted. Some prelates applied to the King to procure from the Pope the abolition of the *Concordat* of 1800, a measure which, by betraying the independence of the Gallican Church, would have been considered as the precursor of the reign of superstition and bigotry. From several pulpits the exploded doctrine of the divine right of sovereigns had been proclaimed, and the crowds of ecclesiastics who thronged every avenue

to the Court, evinced the predilection which Louis had for the order. Daily favors bestowed on the emigrants proved an additional ground of discontent, and all these circumstances had a powerful tendency to promote a union between the Jacobins and the Bonapartists. As the conspiracy gathered strength, hints were cautiously circulated that the Emperor Napoleon was the only person who could avert the evils which they dreaded; and it was studiously insinuated that his character was now completely altered—that adversity had meliorated his heart—that he had renounced his romantic projects of universal empire; and that he wished only to live for the happiness and glory of France. The ramifications of the plot for his restoration spread themselves all over the kingdom, the various agents receiving their instructions from Paris as from a central point, in various quarters of which committees of the disaffected were established.

Amongst the most active conspirators were numbered many ladies, particularly the wives of Napoleon's generals and statesmen, whom offended pride had stimulated to revenge, because of the neglect with which they had been treated at the Court of Louis. The chief of them was Hortensia Beauharnois, the daughter of the Empress Josephine, and wife of Louis Bonaparte, the Ex-King of Holland. At the request of the Emperor Alexander she had been created Duchess of St. Leu by Louis XVIII; but this mark of the royal favor

did not weaken her attachment to him who was at once her step-father and brother-in-law. To her coterie belonged the Duchess of Bassano, (the wife of Maret,) the Duchess of Montebello, (widow of Marshal Lannes,) Madame Hamelin, and several other ladies of distinction, who used every means of seduction to draw persons of talent, wealth, and influence into the vortex of conspiracy. At their secret meetings political songs and squibs were prepared, and various other artifices were contrived to excite popular discontent against the existing government. The coffee-houses and brothels of the Palais-Royal, especially the *Caffe-Montansier*, were chosen as places of rendezvous for the subordinate satellites of the cause, who discussed national politics with the greatest audacity, and fearlessly spoke and sung of the glories of Napoleon, his regretted absence, and anxiously expected return. The populace of the suburbs of Saint Marceau and Saint Antonine, (who so dreadfully distinguished themselves in the early days of the Revolution) appeared once more desirous of a change, and some thousands of them were placed in a state of readiness under the conduct of Richard Le Noir, (nicknamed Santerre the Second,) who was a wealthy cotton manufacturer, and father-in-law to General Lefebvre Desnouettes. Groups of these wretches frequently assembled on the terrace of the Thuilleries, where they filled the air with clamours under pretence of scarcity of bread

or want of employment, calling to memory those terrific vociferations which preceded the horrible events of the Reign of Terror.

Many of the provincial towns had also their clubs, with which a regular correspondence was kept up, carried on, it is averred, through the royal post-office, contained in letters sealed with the King's seal, and dispatched by couriers wearing his livery. This intercourse was said to have been much favoured by La Valette, who having been for a long period Director General of the posts under the Imperial Government, preserved his influence over the subordinate agents of that department who retained their situations after the return of Louis. As in all secret societies, the conspirators had a distinct symbol, by which they might be known to each other; the violet was chosen upon the present occasion. When a Bonapartist met a person whom he wished to sound, he asked him with apparent indifference, "*Are you fond of violets?*" If the answer was simply "*Yes,*" no farther notice was taken. But if the answer was "*Ah! well,*" the stranger was recognized as a brother,—and the sentence was completed by "*Elle reparaitra au printemps,*" "*It will re-appear in the spring.*" Rings of a violet colour, with the same device, became fashionable: ladies wore violet silks, and the health of Bonaparte under the name of Corporal Violet or Jean d'Epée, was pledged by many a royalist, who was wholly ignorant of its secret meaning.

But the chief hope of the conspirators still lay in the army, whose disaffection to the cause of the Bourbons became every day more manifest. Early in the month of January, 1815, Napoleon dismissed his old and favourite guard to give to the world, said the French journals, a convincing proof that he had renounced all his ambitious projects. But his motives for this step were of a very different nature. Three hundred of those guards were landed at Frejus, from whence they dispersed themselves all over France, to sow the seeds of insubordination amongst the different regiments, and prepare the way for the return of Napoleon.* Marshal Soult, the newly appointed Minister at War, is suspected of favoring the project: the

* The following proclamation, in cipher, from Bonaparte to the French Army, was in the hands of some persons of almost every regiment in the service:—

“ Français! votre pays était trahi, votre Empereur seul peut vous remettre dans la position splendide que convient à la France. Donnez toute votre confiance à celui qui vous a toujours conduit à la gloire.

“ Ses aigles planeront encore en l’air, et étonneront les nations.”

TRANSLATION.

“ Frenchmen! your country was betrayed; your Emperor alone can replace you in the splendid state suitable for France. Give your entire confidence to him who has always led you to glory.

“ His eagles will again soar on high, and strike the nations with astonishment.”

fact, at all events, is undeniable, that the troops which were most attached to the royal cause were removed to a distance, while those on whom Napoleon could place the greatest reliance, were stationed on the route which he must necessarily pursue.

An affair which occurred about this period, affords the most demonstrative proof of the little authority possessed by the Bourbon Government over the army, which seemed now to affect an independent existence as a distinct order of the State. The French Court entertained the most hostile feelings against the King of Naples, as the brother-in-law and creature of Napoleon, whose interests he only deserted, when such a line of conduct appeared to have become necessary to the preservation of his own dominions. His name was not permitted to appear in the Royal Almanack of France amongst the Sovereigns of Europe, and all Frenchmen civil and military were recalled from his service. Murat had, however, many friends in France, and the number was probably increased by these hostile proceedings. Many letters to the King of Naples were intercepted, and amongst others, one from General Count Excelman, Inspector General of the first division at Paris, in which besides expressing his own devoted attachment, he assured him, "that thousands of brave officers formed in his school, and under his eye, would

have been ready at his call, had matters not taken a turn in his favour." For this offence Excelman was placed on half-pay, and ordered to retire to Bar-sur-Ornain : but he refused to obey the order, and escaped from the officers who were sent to arrest him. He then petitioned the Chamber of Deputies, against what he called an abuse of power ; but his petition being rejected, he surrendered himself, and on the 15th of January 1815, he was tried at Lisle by a court-martial, of which Count d'Erlon was president. He was accused of having corresponded with the public enemy, Joachim Murat, whose sovereignty had not been recognized by France ; and with having committed an act of espionage by acquainting Murat with the dispositions of the French officers in his favor. He was also charged with having written things derogatory to the King's person and authority, disobeyed the orders of the Minister at War, and violated his oath as a Chevalier of St. Louis. Previous to his trial, Excelman had expressed the strongest confidence in the justice and enlightened sentiments of the members of the court-martial, and they justified his anticipations by an unanimous acquittal, which seemed to sanction the wish of the army to free themselves from subordination to the King. Excelman immediately presented himself at the foot of the throne, to thank his Majesty for the justice which had been rendered him, and renew

his oath of fidelity to him—an obligation, however, which was speedily forgotten.

The apathy with which the gathering storm was viewed, not only by the French Government, but by the other States of Europe, is to the present a subject of wonder and astonishment. The disaffection of the French army and the secret machinations of the Jacobins, had for a long period been notorious facts, and their connexion with the Imperial exile was not unknown. Information to this effect was communicated to the Ministers from various quarters, but a consciousness of their imbecility, or, perhaps, worse motives, caused them to adopt no effectual measure for checking the progress of the conspiracy, until it burst upon Europe with a terrific explosion. There can be no doubt that even when the mask of loyalty was generally worn, treason lurked in every department of the state. The military, the police, and all the public officers, were more or less infected; and all these powerful bodies were prepared to co-operate in the restoration of their warlike chieftain. Their desires obtained a temporary gratification—peace once more fled the earth, nor was it fixed on a solid basis, but by the extermination of that army to whom it had become so odious.

CHAPTER XLIII.

The Congress at Vienna.—Napoleon makes secret Preparations for returning to France.—He reviews and addresses his little Army.—His Embarkation and perilous Voyage.—Debarkation in the Gulph of Juan.—He advances with rapidity into the Country, and is joyfully received by the Peasantry.—Napoleon's Proclamations to the People and Army of France.—Singular apathy of the French Government.—Advance of Napoleon towards Grenoble.—First defection of the Royal Troops.—Colonel Labedoyere, with his Regiment, joins the Standard of Napoleon, and his example is followed by the Garrison of Grenoble.—Loyalty of General Marchand the Commandant.—Alarm of the French Court.—Napoleon is proclaimed a Traitor.—Apparent ardour of the Parisians in the Royal Cause.—Monsieur and the Duke of Orleans proceed to Lyons, to check the Progress of the Invader.—Camp at Melun.—Soult resigns the situation of Minister at War.—Conspiracy to seduce the Troops in the North of France.—Proclamation of Louis to the Army.—Monsieur endeavours in vain to prevail on the Troops at Lyons, to oppose Napoleon.—Marshal Macdonald is abandoned by his followers, on the approach of the latter, and Lyons opens its gates to the Invader.—Napoleon rejects with contempt, the offer of service of Monsieur's Guard of Honour.—He resumes the Imperial Government.—Measures adopted by Napoleon to conciliate the affections of the People.—Alarm of the Royalists in Paris.—Apparent loyalty of Marshal Ney.—Defection of the Marshal.—Revolt of the Troops at Lisle.—Louis, and the Princes again swear to observe the Constitutional Charter, in the Hall of the Deputies.—The Legislative Body declares the Royal Cause to be that of the Nation.—Louis endeavours, in vain, to gain the affections of the Troops of the Line.—Triumphant

Progress of Napoleon from Lyons to Paris.—Extraordinary junction of the Royal and Imperial Troops, at the Camp of Melun.—Louis quits his Capital.—Singular changes in Paris.—Entry of Napoleon.—Louis repairs to Lisle, which he is forced to abandon by the disaffection of his Troops, and establishes his Court at Ghent.—Disastrous March of the Household Troops, under the Duke of Berri.—Fruitless efforts of the Duke of Bourbon, to maintain the Royal Cause in the West.—Heroic Conduct of the Duchess of Angouleme at Bourdeaux.—Forsaken by the Troops, she is forced to embark.—The Duke of Angouleme concludes a Convention with General Gilly, and quits the Kingdom.

THE Congress at Vienna was now drawing to a close, and it is difficult to believe that the members of this assembly could have been ignorant of the existence of a conspiracy, for the restoration of Napoleon. Though nothing official was published on the subject, it was rumoured with great appearance of probability, that the Congress had begun to hesitate as to the prudence of their conduct in permitting the Imperial Exile to reside without proper *surveillance*, in the neighbourhood of millions, who were known to be devoted to his interest; and that some proposals were made to remove him to a greater distance from his political connexions. It is probable that the hints which were communicated to him on this subject, urged Napoleon to attempt the extraordinary enterprize, which we are about to detail, before the plans of his friends were fully matured.

We have already observed, that during the latter months of his residence in Elba, Napoleon affected solitude, declining, on various pretexts, his usual exercises and amusements. His time no doubt, was occupied in making arrangements for the commencement of one of the most daring projects recorded in history, and in brooding over the consequences that must necessarily attend its success or its failure. He purchased with great secrecy, some feluccas, arms, and ammunition at Genoa, Naples and Algiers; and even his favorite Bertrand is said to have been ignorant of his plans, till within an hour of their execution. On the 25th of February, the Princess Pauline Borghese, the sister of Napoleon, gave a fête, at which the principal French officers were present. On the following day Napoleon reviewed his little army, which consisted of seven hundred men of his old Guard, three hundred Corsicans, and one hundred and forty Poles; and at their dismissal, he ordered them to assemble on the same parade at six o'clock in the evening. When the appointed hour arrived, he formed his troops into a solid square, and placing himself in the centre, he once more addressed them in that strain, which in the days of his glory, had led the French legions to victory. He declared that during his retirement it had been his great business to form them to the discipline and noble daring of soldiers; and that now fortune was

about to give them an opportunity of shewing that his labours were not lost. France, Belgium, and Italy, he said, invited him to resume the Imperial crown, and he had only to land, and display his standard, when all the military of France would rally round their Emperor. His abdication had been compelled, not by the will of the French, but by an overwhelming foreign force, to which the calamities of that country had given a temporary triumph; but that coalition had been dissolved by the jealous and narrow views of its members—Italy had been deceived, Germany sacrificed, Poland enslaved, Saxony extinguished, while Russia, Prussia, and England, were the dividers of the spoil. But France had recovered the three hundred thousand men, which a cruel season had rendered prisoners to Russia: persecuted by the Bourbon Government, because of their well known attachment to his person, they now wandered through France, a prey to insult and beggary. “And will not these men,” he asked, “return to the General, who remembers them as ardently as he is remembered by them? Fellow soldiers!” exclaimed Napoleon, “comrades in glory and in arms! for such you are about to become, judge of these as you would judge of yourselves; and answer me from your own feelings, whether my brave soldiers, will pass over to my enemy and their’s, or whether, again seeing my standard shin-

“ing in the sun, and my Imperial Eagle again
“elevated to its own skies, they will reseek their
“standard, their eagle, and their general, and
“again conduct them to the throne, which be-
“longs to them. What are the Bourbons to
“them or us? Who is it in France, still in the
“vigour of his life, who remembers them or knows
“any thing of them, but their name, their mad
“extravagancies, and their contemptible debau-
“cheries? In the course of three hundred years,
“did they add an acre to the French territory, or
“an unit to the lasting glory of the French name?
“Are these Kings for the French? No, comrades!
“—the age and the people demand another kind
“of leaders. What say you, soldiers; are you
“prepared to follow me, and partake my fortune,
“my glory, and if there be any, my perils and la-
“bours?” This harangue was received by the
troops with enthusiastic acclamations, and Napo-
leon, accompanied by Generals Bertrand, Drouet,
and Cambronne, with M. Porrs de Cette, Director
of the Mines, instantly led them to the place of
embarkation.*

* Sir Neil Campell, the British Resident at Elba, was at this time absent on a temporary excursion to Italy. On his return he found the mother and sisters of Napoleon in a paroxysm of well-dissembled anxiety for the fate of the Emperor, who, they said, had steered towards the coast of Barbary. They endeavoured to detain Sir Neil Campbell on shore, and their entreaties were seconded by the arguments of the Governor General Lapé, who

L'Inconstant brig, mounting twenty-six guns, and six small transports, received this corps of eleven hundred men, with which Napoleon had resolved to invade a kingdom containing a population of twenty-six millions. The embarkation took place at eight o'clock in the evening, and the soldiers quitted the harbour of Porto Ferajo, shouting, "Paris or Death!" From the state of the wind they had hoped, before the dawn, to double the island of Capraia, and thus to elude the cruisers on that station; but the wind dying away, their hopes were frustrated, and considerable alarm was excited by two French frigates and a brig, which appeared in the offing. The wind freshening a little, about four in the afternoon, they were off Leghorn, one of the hostile frigates being at this time about five leagues to the leeward, and the other on the coast of Corsica. The Zephyr brig, however, approached the Inconstant, but by the dexterous management of a Lieutenant, on board the latter vessel, the Captain of the Zephyr was completely deceived, and the ships separated. At noon on the 28th, Antibes was in sight, and at three o'clock in the morning of the 1st of March, the flotilla entered the Gulf of Juan, at a short distance from Frejus in the

appeared disposed to use force; but he found means to regain his vessel, the Partridge sloop of war, and instantly set sail in pursuit of the fugitive—too late, however, to overtake him.

department of the Var.* Napoleon immediately assembled the troops on the deck, ordered them to throw the cockade of Elba into the sea, and presented them with the national colours, which were received with shouts of "the Emperor for ever!" A small battery which was found unoccupied, was seized by the captain of the guard, and in the evening Napoleon disembarked the whole of his troops, exclaiming, as he again set foot on the French territory, "*Voilà le Congrès dessous.*" "Behold! the Congress is dissolved."

* During the whole of his short, but perilous voyage, Napoleon is said to have appeared quite at ease, and fully prepared for every emergency. Every art was resorted to for the purpose of evading detection; the soldiers and crew during the first night changed the painting of the sides from yellow and grey, to black and white. The danger appeared so imminent when the French frigates came in sight, that the Captain urged the necessity of returning to Port^o Ferajo; but Napoleon commanded the flotilla to continue its voyage, and when the Zephyr approached, he seemed disposed to require her to hoist the tri-coloured flag: but afterwards perceiving the imprudence of such a step, he ordered the soldiers to take off their caps and conceal themselves between the decks, while Lieutenant Taillade, who was an old acquaintance of Andrieux, the Captain of the Zephyr, undertook to lull every suspicion, which he did effectually, by stating that the Inconstant was bound for Genoa; and expressing his anxiety to execute at that place any commission with which he might be disposed to entrust him. At parting, Captain Andrieux asked, "How is the Emperor?" To which Napoleon himself replied, "Wonderfully well!" Colonel Jermanonski, of the Polish lancers, who accompanied him from Elba, states in his Narrative, that a little before the flotilla came to anchor, he disclosed to

A small detachment was instantly despatched to secure Antibes ; but General Corsin, faithful to his allegiance, imprisoned the officer and his men, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Undismayed by this first repulse, Napoleon resolved to advance to Cannes, and after bivouacking for some hours in a vineyard on the sea-coast, he commenced his march at one o'clock in the morning. During his advance to Cannes, he appears to have been shunned by persons of property or character, the peasants alone greeting his approach. At Grasse he found the town deserted, a report having been circulated, that a troop of corsairs had landed, and were ravaging the country. The mayor refused to furnish rations, declaring that he acknowledged no authority but that of Louis XVIII. ; but the inhabitants, on hearing that the Emperor had arrived, returned to their shops, and instantly supplied the wants of the soldiers.

Napoleon had brought six pieces of cannon from Elba, but finding that they incommoded his progress, he left them at Grasse, and proceeded on those around him both the hopes and the difficulties which presented themselves to his view. "In a case like this," he said, "one must think slowly, but act promptly : I have long weighed and most maturely considered the project. The glory and advantages we shall gain, if we succeed, I need not enlarge upon. If we fail—to military men who have from their infancy faced death in so many shapes, the fate which awaits us is not terrific : we know, and we despise, for we have a thousand times been exposed to, the worst which fate can bring."

the same evening to the village of Cerénon, having travelled twenty leagues in the first day. On the 3rd of March, he slept at Bareme, and on the 4th at Digne, from whence he pressed forward, on the 5th to Gap, with only ten horsemen, and forty grenadiers. The landing of Napoleon was known at Marseilles, on the very day upon which it took place, and if a body of troops had been immediately despatched, his progress might have been intercepted ; but Massena, who commanded the garrison, took no decisive steps, till the invader had penetrated eighty miles into the country, when a single regiment, as if to save appearances, was sent in pursuit.

Never was the versatile nature of the French character more strikingly depicted, than during the singular progress of Napoleon and his slender train, through those provinces, where not twelve months before, he was compelled to assume a disguise to avoid the popular fury. Now the return of the eagle was hailed by the tumultuous greetings of the peasantry, while doubt, astonishment and apprehension, appeared to agitate the breasts of the higher classes. Napoleon's talents were once more called into exercise, to meet the altered feelings of the multitude : he made no secret of his determination to subvert the throne of the reigning sovereign, yet he appeared to display with studied ostentation, the feebleness of the

means by which he proposed to effect his mighty purpose; as if he would persuade them, that on the loyalty and attachment of his former subjects alone he rested his hopes of success. The populace was permitted to count his puny host, to approach his person, and learn from his own mouth, the object of his enterprize.

While on board the *Inconstant*, Napoleon had framed a proclamation to the army, and another to the French people. He endeavoured to circulate them, when at Grasse, but he could not get them printed till he arrived at Gap. In these he used, with singular effect, that species of eloquence, by which, in the days of his greatness, he obtained such a commanding influence over the passions of the people. Thousands of them were quickly circulated, with what success was speedily apparent.*

* Napoleon by the Grace of God, and the Constitution of the Empire, Emperor of the French, &c. &c.

TO THE ARMY.

Soldiers! We were not conquered: two men risen from our ranks betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor.

Those whom, during twenty-five years, we have seen traversing all Europe to raise up enemies against us; who have passed their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, and in cursing our fine France, shall they pretend to command and control our eagles, on which they have not dared even to look? Shall we endure that they should inherit the fruits of our glorious labours; that they should clothe themselves with our honours and our goods; that they should calumniate our glory?

Notwithstanding the general disaffection to the existing government which prevailed, an extraordinary insensibility to the threatened danger, appears to have influenced some of the King's

If their reign should continue, all would be lost, even the memory of those immortal days. With what fury do they pervert their very nature ! They seek to poison what the world admires ; and if there still remain any defenders of our glory, it is among those very enemies whom we have fought on the field of battle.

Soldiers ! In my exile I heard your voice. I have arrived through all obstacles and all perils. Your General, called to the throne by the voice of the people, and educated under your banners, is restored to you. Come and join him !

Tear down those colours which the nation has proscribed, and which, for twenty-five years, served as a rallying signal to all the enemies of France. Mount the tri-coloured cockade. You bore it in the days of your greatness !

We must now forget that we have been masters of nations ; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs.

Who shall presume to be master over us ? Who would have the power ? Recover those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmühl, at Essling, at Wagram, at Smolensko, at Moscow, at Lutzen, at Wurken, at Montmirail. Do you think that the handful of Frenchmen, who are now so arrogant, will endure to look on them ? They shall return whence they came, and there, if they please, they shall reign, as they pretend to have reigned during nineteen years. Your possessions, your rank, your glory—the possessions, the rank, the glory of your children have no greater enemies than those Princes whom foreigners have imposed on us. They are the enemies of our glory, because the recital of so many heroic actions, which have glorified the people of France fighting against them, to withdraw themselves from their yoke, is their condemnation.

The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, and of the Grand

Ministers, while the disposition which Soult, the Minister at War, had just made of the troops in the southern departments, proved highly favourable to the invader. He afterwards endeavoured to

Army, are all humiliated—their honourable wounds are disgraced—their successes are their crimes.

Honours, rewards, affection, are given to those who have served against the country and us.

Soldiers ! Come and range yourselves under the standards of your chief. His existence is only composed of your's. His rights are only those of the people and your's. His interest, his honour, his glory, are no others than your interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory shall march at the charge-step. The eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre Dame. Then you will be able to shew your scars with honour—then you will be able to glory in what you have done. You will be the deliverers of your country. In your old age, surrounded and esteemed by your fellow-citizens, they will hear you with respect while you recount your high deeds. You will be able to say with pride—"And I, too, was part of that grand army which entered twice the walls of Vienna, those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow ; and which delivered Paris from the foul blot which treason and the presence of the enemy imprinted on it."

Honoured be those brave soldiers, the glory of their country ; and eternal shame on those guilty Frenchmen, in whatever rank fortune caused them to be born, who fought for twenty-five years with the foreigners, to tear the bosom of their country.

By the Emperor.

(Signed)

NAPOLÉON.

The Grand Marshal performing the functions of the Major-General of the Grand Army,

BERTRAND.

The following Address to the French people was not less calculated to remind them of the former glory of the nation, and inspire them with detestation of the reigning family :—

justify his conduct by alleging that he ordered these movements at the request of Talleyraud, the French representative at the Congress, who wished that an Army of thirty or forty thousand men,

Frenchmen !—The defection of the Duke of Castiglione delivered up Lyons, without defence, to our enemies. The army of which I confided to him the command, was, by the number of its battalions, and the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, fully able to beat the Austrian corps opposed to it, and to get into the rear of the left wing of the enemy's army, which threatened Paris.

The victories of Champ Aubert, of Montmirail, of Chateau Thierry, of Vauchamp, of Mormans, of Montereau, of Craone, of Rheims, of Arcy-sur-Aube, and of St. Dizier; the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine, of Champagne, of Alsace, of Franche Comte, and of Bourgoin, and the position which I had taken on the rear of the enemy's army, by separating it from its magazines, from its parties of reserve, from its convoys, and all its equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the flower of the enemy's army was lost without resource. It would have found its grave in those vast countries which it had mercilessly ravaged, when the treason of the Duke of Ragusa gave up the capital, and disorganized the army. The unexpected conduct of these two Generals, who betrayed at once their country, their Prince, and their benefactor, changed the destiny of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such, that at the conclusion of the affair which took place before Paris, it was without ammunition, on account of its separation from its parties of reserve.

Under these new and important circumstances my heart was rent, but my soul remained unshaken. I consulted only the interest of the country. I exiled myself on a rock in the middle of the sea. My life was, and ought to be still, useful to you. I did not permit the greater number of citizens, who wished to accompany me, to partake my lot: I thought their presence useful to

should be formed between Lyons and Chamberri, in order that the kingdom's state of military preparation might authorise the high language he had begun to hold to the other powers. Whatever may

France ; and I took with me only a handful of brave men, necessary for my guard.

Raised to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without you is illegitimate. For twenty-five years France has had new interests, new institutions, and new glory, which could only be secured by a national Government, and by a dynasty created under those new circumstances. A Prince who should reign over you ; who should be seated on my throne by the power of those very armies which ravaged our territory, would in vain attempt to support himself with the principles of feudal law. He would not be able to recover the honour and the rights of more than a small number of individuals, enemies of the people, who, for twenty-five years, have condemned them in all our national assemblies. Your tranquillity at home, and your consequence abroad, would be lost for ever.

Frenchmen ! In my exile I have heard your complaints and your wishes. You demanded that Government of your choice which alone was legitimate. You accused my long slumber ; you reproached me for sacrificing to my repose the great interests of the country.

I have crossed the seas in the midst of dangers of every kind. I arrive amongst you to redeem my rights, which are your's. All that individuals have done, written, or said, since the capture of Paris, I will be for ever ignorant of. It shall not at all influence the recollections which I preserve of the important services which they have performed. These are circumstances of such a nature as to be above human organization.

Frenchmen ! There is no nation, however small it may be, which has not had the right, if it possessed the power, to withdraw itself from the disgrace of obeying a Prince imposed on it by an enemy momentarily victorious. When Charles VII. re-entered Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry V. he

have been the original design, the troops thus assembled, would have speedily crushed Bonaparte's attempt, had they proved faithful to the Royal cause; but devoted to his interests, as they proved to be, they afforded him the certain means of its accomplishment. Of this Napoleon seemed well assured, for when, as he passed through St. Bonnet, on his way to Grenoble, the inhabitants proposed to sound the tocsin, to assemble the villagers, and accompany him in a mass, he replied, "No! your sentiments prove to me that I have not deceived myself, and they afford me a sure pledge of the sentiments of my soldiers. I do not need your services, and will not drag you from your houses. Those whom I meet, will rank themselves on my side, and the more numerous they are, the more certain will be my success."

Marchand and Des Villiers, the commandants of Grenoble and the neighbouring town of Chamberi, were men of distinguished bravery and attachment to the Royal cause; but the garrison of the

acknowledged that he held his throne from the valour of his heroes, and not from the Prince Regent of England.

It is thus that to you alone, and to the brave men of the army, that I account it, and shall always account it, my glory to owe every thing.

By the Emperor. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

The Grand Marshal, performing the functions of Major-General of the Grand Army,

COUNT BERTRAND.

former place had been lately reinforced, by the arrival of the seventh regiment of the line, whose Colonel, Henry La Bédoyere, had for some time been in correspondence with Bonaparte. This young officer, who had scarcely attained the age of twenty-nine, was distinguished by the gracefulness of his person, and his military acquirements. He was noble by birth, and allied by marriage, to the family of Damas, through whose influence he obtained his present rank in the army, and the decorations of the Legion of Honour from Louis XVIII. Notwithstanding these royal favours, he suffered his mind to be seduced by the illusion which afterwards proved so fatal to thousands, that the military genius of Napoleon alone could restore the lost glory of his country; and when he heard that he had landed at Cannes, he resolved to seize the first opportunity to join his ranks. - For this purpose, he secretly preserved one of the eagles which had been formerly borne by the regiment, while a large number of national cockades were concealed within the hollow of the drums.

During the night of the 6th, the advanced guard of Napoleon, consisting of forty men, under General Cambroane, fell in with the out-post of the royal army, amounting to eight hundred, at the village of Mure, who refusing any communication with Cambroane, fell back three leagues towards Grenoble. Napoleon instantly put in execution a plan

which was well calculated to disarm resistance, and arouse those feelings of attachment towards their former leader, by which he knew they were generally actuated. Accompanied by two or three officers, and followed by fifty grenadiers with their arms reversed, he advanced within pistol-shot of the royal troops, who apparently only awaited the command of their officers to fire upon him; when baring his bosom, he exclaimed, "Behold me! If there is one soldier among you who wishes to kill his Emperor, let him now fulfil his pleasure." This appeal appeared irresistible, and as if actuated by a single impulse, all the soldiers threw down their arms, crowded round Napoleon, and rent the air with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*. They instantly tore off the white cockade, mounted the national colours, and followed in the train of him, who a few minutes before they were drawn up to oppose. Though it is conjectured, with great probability, that the whole of this singular transaction had been previously arranged between the officers on both sides, yet it must be confessed that Napoleon performed his part with admirable courage and decision.

Thus reinforced, he continued to approach Grenoble, the surrender of which was still farther accelerated by the defection of Colonel La Bedoyere. Assembling his regiment in that city, on the morning of the 7th, he acquainted them with his

intentions, and was answered by a universal shout of *Vive l'Empereur*. They instantly marched from the town towards Napoleon's quarters, and no sooner were they beyond the gates, than La Bedoyere displayed the eagle on a willow branch, while the soldiers mounted the tri-coloured cockade. Des Villiers who had arrived from Chamberri that morning, pursued and overtook the regiment, a few of whom he prevailed on to return to their duty; but the remainder with their colonel, declared their inflexible determination to join the Emperor. This was speedily effected, and at nine o'clock in the evening Napoleon reached the suburbs of Grenoble. Should the garrison prove faithful, General Marchand was determined to defend the place to the uttermost. The gates were closed, the ramparts lined with troops, and the cannoneers stood by their guns with lighted matches; but at the moment when Bonaparte was recognised at a distance, the intelligence circulated amongst the soldiers and inhabitants with the rapidity of lightning. A simultaneous shout burst from every lip, the matches were extinguished, the white cockade trampled under foot, the soldiers and the populace rushing to the gates, tore them open, and Napoleon entered Grenoble at ten o'clock at night. The soldiers in a few minutes, mounted the national cockades, which they had long concealed in their knapsacks, and, advancing

to Napoleon they cried, "See, they are the same that we wore at Austerlitz and Marengo." The Civic Authorities invited him to take up his residence at the Government-house, but he preferred the hotel of the Three Dolphins, which was kept by an old soldier of his Guard, and where the conspirators had been accustomed to hold their meetings. Here he soon had an opportunity of displaying his magnanimity, when the seditious soldiers brought their Commandant, General Marchand, into his presence as a prisoner. Napoleon immediately ordered him to be released, and entreated him to re-assume the command of the town. "I may appeal to yourself," replied Marchand, "that I once served you faithfully; your abdication released me from my allegiance to you, and I have since sworn fidelity to the Bourbons. Here is my sword; I can again submit to become a prisoner, but I can never be a traitor." Napoleon, appearing deeply affected, replied, "General, take back your sword. You have hitherto used it as a true soldier, and I respect you too much to urge you now to unite in a way which your conscience would disapprove. You are at liberty to depart." Napoleon now found himself at the head of a well appointed army of ten thousand men, with a considerable park of artillery, and at the head of this force he determined to proceed towards Lyons.

The landing of Napoleon was not known by the French Court till the 5th of March. The intelligence excited at first only feelings of mingled astonishment and contempt; as he was considered in no higher character than that of a brigand chief whom a few gens-d'armes would soon reduce to submission. But these illusions were quickly dispelled by the accounts which arrived on every succeeding day, of the defection of the soldiery, and the eagerness with which the gates of every town on his route were opened to him. On the 7th the Chambers were convened, and a Royal Ordonnance proclaimed Napoleon Bonaparte and his adherents as traitors. All parties and orders in the state appeared at this time determined to support the Royal cause. The Foreign Ambassadors presented themselves before the King to express their concern at the unexpected event which had occurred, and claim the honour of attaching themselves to his person whatever might be the chance of war. The municipal body of Paris presented an address to his Majesty not less filled with ardent expressions of loyal attachment than that with which they hailed the arrival of Napoleon a few days afterwards. The courts and gardens of the Thuilleries resounded from morning till night with acclamations for the King and his family; and a still stronger proof of apparent devotion to his interests was given by forty thousand men enrolling

themselves as volunteers in the different districts of the metropolis, to assist in the defence of the government.

Vigorous preparations were now made to check the progress of the invader; Monsieur, with the Duke of Orleans repaired to Lyons to take the command of the army in the South; the Duke d'Angouleme was ordered to proceed from Bourdeaux to Nismes, and it was resolved to form a camp at Melun for the protection of the capital. The revolt of the troops at Grenoble having excited strong suspicions respecting Marshal Soult, he waited on the King, to whom he offered his sword, and the port-folio of his office of Minister at War. The King returned his sword to the Marshal with expressions of confidence; but he accepted the port-folio, which he immediately entrusted to Clarke, Duke of Feltre.

During these events, the bands of conspirators in Paris anxiously watched the movements of both parties; but while their hopes were animated by the progress of Napoleon in the South, they were alarmed by the display of loyalty which the capital presented. Measures had been concerted amongst them for gaining over the troops in the North of France, to the cause of the invader; and in this design General Lefebvre Desnouettes, a warm partisan of Napoleon, with General Allemand and his brother, proved active

agents. On the 9th of March Lefebvre announced to his regiment of chasseurs at Cambray, that he had received the royal orders that they should advance on Compeigne; but on the route various circumstances occurred to excite the suspicions of his officers, particularly of Baron Lyons, his major. These were confirmed on their arrival at Compeigne, where he attempted to seduce another regiment to follow him. His officers then compelled him to throw off the mask, and he fled alone to join the standard of Napoleon. The attempt of General Allemand and his brother experienced a similar discomfiture. By means of forged orders they had put the garrison of Lisle, consisting of six thousand men, in motion, under the pretext of their being wanted at Paris, to quell an insurrection against the government. Marshal Mortier met them accidentally while pressing on by forced marches to the capital, and instantly ordered them back to their cantonments. The two Allemands were afterwards arrested by the police, but the Ministers did not venture to punish them. A disposition to insurrection appeared in Paris, about the period when the arrival of these troops was expected; crowds collected about the gate by which they were to enter, and on a false alarm that they were approaching, shouts of *Vive l'Empereur* were suddenly raised. The assemblage, however, was dispersed by the *gardes-du-corps*, after one person was killed, and several were wounded.

Louis about this period published a proclamation to his armies, in which he called upon them in the name of honour to be faithful to their colours, and to remember the oath of fidelity which they had taken to him. He said, the General whom they would have defended to the last moment, had, by his formal abdication, restored them to their legitimate sovereign, who had associated himself in the glory of their triumphs, even when they were not obtained in his cause. He invoked the love, and claimed the fidelity of those whose forefathers had rallied round the plume of his renowned ancestor, the Great Henry. He called on them to defend with him the public liberty, the constitutional charter, their wives, their fathers, their children, their property against the tyranny by which they were menaced. The enemy of the country was also their's; he had speculated on their blood, and made traffic of their fatigue and wounds—he had led them through a thousand dangers, to useless and bloody victories—their fine France not being sufficient for him, he would again exhaust its entire population, to acquire new conquests at the expense of their blood. He counselled them to distrust the perfidious promises of the enemy, and to rely on their King, who undertook to recompense them. He urged them to apprehend the first traitor who should attempt to seduce them; and in allusion to the affair of Lefebvre, he called

upon them to imitate the example of several squadrons of cavalry, whom a guilty chief had wished to lead astray near La Fere, but who had voluntarily forced him to withdraw himself. "Soldiers!" he added, "You are Frenchmen: I am your King; it is not in vain that I confide to your courage and to your fidelity the safety of our dear country."

But fresh events had by this time occurred in the South, which proved that Louis had no protection to expect from the French army. When Monsieur and the Duke of Orleans arrived at Lyons, where they were joined by Marshal Macdonald, they used every effort to awaken a spirit of loyalty amongst the people and the soldiery; but they quickly found that the majority of the former were attached to the cause of Napoleon, who when in power, had by the protection which he afforded to this city, endeavoured to render it the emporium of French commerce. Yet many royalists were still found amongst them, and some young men of the first families formed themselves into a guard of honour, to defend the person of Monsieur. The near approach of Napoleon being announced, Marshal Macdonald examined the fortifications, and caused the bridges of Morand and La Guilloterie on the Rhone to be barricaded. On the following day Monsieur reviewed the troops; and in a harangue which he made to them, expatiated on the virtues of his brother, and the

perfidy of Bonaparte. The guard of honour and his escort exclaimed, "*Vive le Roi*," but the troops of the line maintained a gloomy and obstinate silence. At this moment Monsieur advanced to the Colonel of the 13th dragoons, and asked him what were the feelings and intentions of his regiment. "Interrogate them," said the officer, "they will frankly tell you." The Prince addressed the soldier who was nearest to him, "Are you well paid?" "Yes, my Lord." "Will you fight for the King?" "No, my Lord." "For whom, then, will you fight?" "For Napoleon." He dismounted, and proceeding through the ranks, accosted several of the soldiers, from whom he received similar replies. At length he accosted a veteran, covered with scars, and decorated with three medals. "Well, comrade!" said he, "a brave soldier, like you, cannot hesitate to cry "*Vive le Roi*!" "You deceive yourself," answered the dragoon, roughly; "no soldier will fight against his father; and my cry will be *Vive l'Empereur* !!"

At this moment Napoleon's advanced-guard arrived in the suburb of La Guilloterie. Macdonald proceeded against them at the head of two battalions, to occupy the bridge which divides the suburb from the city. Some squadrons of the 4th hussars had just reached it, followed by a tumultuous populace. The sight of the Imperial eagle and the tri-coloured cockade, decided instantly the

conduct of Macdonald's followers, who rushing forward, embraced their old companions in arms, and again ranged themselves under the standard of their once celebrated leader. The menaces and entreaties of Marshal Macdonald were alike disregarded, the soldiers declaring that Napoleon had been torn from them by treason; but as he had again been restored by a noble enterprize, to him they ought to preserve an oath, which to him alone they had taken. These infatuated men, however, evinced upon this occasion, a noble generosity which should not be forgotten. Marshal Macdonald was at one time surrounded and made prisoner by the hussars; but the troops which had deserted him, flew to his rescue, declared they would defend him at the hazard of their lives, and after placing him in safety within the gates of Lyons, returned to join the followers of Napoleon.

When this fatal intelligence reached Monsieur, he precipitately quitted the city, accompanied by Marshal Macdonald: even of his guard of honour, only one solitary horseman had courage and fidelity to attend him. At nine in the evening Napoleon entered the ancient capital of the Gauls, and found himself once more at the head of several thousand men, with cannon and military stores of every kind, while the Bourbon Princes were forced to retreat before him. On the 11th he reviewed his army, when an opportunity was afforded him, of again displaying one of those noble traits of character,

which sometimes illumined its darker shades. Amongst the various public bodies that approached to pay their respects to Napoleon, was the guard of honour, which had been formed for the protection of Monsieur. They now requested permission to become the personal escort of Napoleon ; but he rejected the offer with contempt, saying, “ Your conduct towards the Count d’Artois, assures me what I should expect from you, if I sustained a reverse of fortune.” He at the same time ordered a cross of the Legion of Honour, to be transmitted to the faithful dragoon, who had accompanied Monsieur.

From this period Napoleon appears to have lost all doubt as to the issue of his enterprize, and at Lyons he resumed the exercise of the Imperial Government, by appointing Ministers, Counselors, and Prefects. Cambaceres was nominated Minister of Justice, and Carnot Minister of the Interior : the administration of the Police was committed to Fouché, and Davoust was named Minister of War. By several decrees issued at Lyons, he annulled all the changes which the King had made in the tribunals of justice, during his absence, and cashiered all the emigrant officers who had been appointed since the Restoration. He suppressed the Order of St Louis, the white flag and cockade, and restored the tri-coloured standard. The Swiss guard and the household troops of the King were abolished ; the property of the Bourbons and the

emigrants was sequestered, their titles suppressed, and their persons banished. The Legion of Honour was restored in every respect as it had existed under the Emperor. Finally, he dissolved the two Chambers, and convoked the Electoral Colleges of the Empire, in order that they might hold, in imitation of the ancient Franks, an extraordinary assembly of the *Champ-de-Mai*, which was to have two objects, first, to new model the Constitution according to the interests and will of the nation ; and secondly, to assist at the coronation of the Empress, and of the King of Rome. All these enactments were calculated to serve his cause with the majority of the nation. The resentment of the army against emigrants was gratified ; the republicans had a prospect of confiscations, proscriptions and revolutions ; while to the view of the Imperialists were held out pensions, offices, and honorary decorations : to the proprietors of national domains, ample security was promised, and to amuse the volatile Parisians, the spectacle of the *Champ-de-Mai*. The friends of Napoleon were at this time actively engaged in circulating reports of the friendly dispositions of the foreign powers. The arrival of the Empress and her son was said to be at hand, as a pledge of the amicable intentions of Austria. The conduct of the Emperor Alexander towards the members of Bonaparte's family was appealed to, as an evidence of the friendship of Russia. The naval force of

England, it was reported, connived at the escape of Napoleon ; and of all the great powers, Prussia alone was said to continue hostile to his government. These reports being widely propagated, disarmed opposition, and greatly facilitated the progress of the invader.

During these transactions, the hopes of the French Court had been revived by a variety of rumours from the South, favorable to the cause of Royalty : but the sudden return of Monsieur, dissipated those pleasing illusions, and confirmed all the apprehensions which Louis had entertained of the troops. He was advised to retire to the North or to Belgium, but he resolved not to quit his capital while any hope remained of recalling his deluded subjects to a sense of their duty. The ardent attachment to his person which was still manifested by the representatives of the people, the marshals, the national guard, and troops of the line in Paris, led him to believe all was not yet lost. Amongst the rest Marshal Ney expressed the most devoted attachment to the King, which led his Majesty to confer upon him the command of an army of fourteen thousand men, at Lons-le-Saulnier, intended to fall on the rear of Napoleon, while the camp at Melun checked his progress in front. When the King presented him with his appointment, he told the Marshal that he relied on his devoted faith. Ney stooped, kissed the hand of Louis with emotion, and, half-drawing his

sword from his scabbard, exclaimed, "I hope to bring him to your Majesty in a cage of iron:" and on retiring he said, "That will be the happiest day of my life, in which I shall be able to give the King a convincing proof of my respectful devotion."*

Whether these loyal protestations were at the moment sincere, cannot now be determined: if they were, a few days wrought an extraordinary change in the Marshal's sentiments. On his arrival at Lons-le-Saulnier, he is said to have harangued his Staff, in favour of the Royal cause. Some manifested a sullen discontent; others appeared irresolute; a few only renewed their oaths of fidelity. For a short time he exhibited considerable energy, assembling troops from the various garrisons in the vicinity, as if to assume a position for attacking Bonaparte in the flank and rear; and he wrote to the Minister at War, that though the invader was favoured by the common people and the soldiers, yet the officers and civil authorities were loyal, and he still hoped "to see a fortunate close of this mad enterprise." But during the night of the 13th an emissary arrived from Napoleon with a letter in his own hand writing, summoning him as "the bravest of the brave,"

* So confident was the King in the fidelity of Marshal Ney, that on meeting Madame Ney, two days after, he said to her, "Madame, you have a husband whose loyalty is equal to his courage."

to join the Imperial standard." It assured him that this enterprise had been concerted with Austria—that England connived at it—that Alexander had returned to his own country, and would no more intermeddle with the affairs of the South—that Napoleon had secretly received the submission of every regiment in the service, and that Ney's most confidential officers had long been enrolled amongst his adherents. The communication concluded by a declaration that Napoleon had for ever renounced his projects of arbitrary government and universal dominion, and wished now to reign solely for the happiness of France.

If the loyal professions of Ney had been sincere, we must pity the weakness of the man who could be deceived by such a flimsy artifice; if they had been uttered with the intention of betraying the cause which he had sworn to defend, we must detest his treachery. They seemed now, however, to be wholly forgotten, and on the morning of the 14th he communicated to Generals Bourmout and Lecourbe, his resolution to join Napoleon. These faithful officers, after urging him in vain to remain steadfast in his duty, left the army in disgust, as did the Marquis de la Genetiere, his own aide-de-camp, Baron Clouet, and some others. An officer of rank advancing towards the Marshal, addressed him thus:—"It is easier for a man of honour to break iron than to break his word:" then snapping his sword asunder, he threw it at

the Marshal's feet, and added, "to prove what I say, there lie the fragments of the sword with which I came to fight under your orders." He then turned his back upon him, and left the town.

Unmoved by these reproaches, Ney on the same day issued a proclamation to his army, in which he declared the cause of the Bourbons to be for ever lost, and that it belonged to the Emperor Napoleon alone to reign over their fine country. The Marshal who had often led them to victory, was now about to march them to join the immortal phalanx, which the Emperor was conducting to Paris, there to establish for ever the happiness of France. This proclamation was received by the soldiers with a universal shout of *Vive l'Empereur*; the imperial ensigns were instantly displayed, and on the same day the army commenced its march to join Napoleon.

The garrison of Lislé, about the same period manifested strong symptoms of disaffection to the Royal cause, and a plot was nearly ripe for execution, when its author Count d'Erlon was discovered by Marshal Mortier, who had him promptly brought to trial. He was condemned to die; but as the sentence was about to be carried into execution, the troops rose against Mortier, and declared d'Erlon commander of the fortress. These sinister events having convinced the King that all hope of support from the French army was at an end, he resolved, with the dignity of a Constitutional

Sovereign, to appeal to the representatives of the country, and in their presence to repel the foul suspicions that were circulated, of his intentions, by again declaring in their presence, in the most solemn and unequivocal manner, his acceptance of the Constitutional Charter ; and his determination to respect the property and the rights of all his subjects.

He accordingly repaired, on the 16th of March, to the Hall of the Deputies in great state, the Chamber of Peers also attending the sitting, and placing himself on the throne, surrounded by the Princes of the Blood, he thus addressed the Assembly :—

“Gentlemen ! In this momentous crisis, when the public enemy has penetrated into part of the kingdom, and threatened the liberty of the remainder, I come in the midst of you to draw closer those ties which unite us together, and which constitute the strength of the State. I come, in addressing myself to you, to declare to all France my sentiments and my wishes. I have revisited my country, and reconciled her to all foreign nations, who will doubtless maintain with the utmost fidelity those treaties which had restored to us peace. I have laboured for the benefit of my people ; I have received, and still continue daily to receive, the most striking proofs of their love. Can I then, at sixty years of age, better terminate my career than by dying in their defence ?—I fear

nothing for myself, but I fear for France. He who comes to light again amongst us the torch of civil war, brings with him also the scourge of foreign war. He comes to reduce our country under his iron yoke. He comes, in short, to destroy that constitutional charter which I have given you; that charter, my brightest title to the estimation of posterity,—that charter, which all Frenchmen cherish, and which I here swear to maintain. Let us rally, therefore, around it! let it be our sacred standard! The descendants of Henry IV. will be the first to range themselves under it. They will be followed by all good Frenchmen. In short, gentlemen, let the concurrence of the two Chambers give to authority all the force that is necessary; and this war, truly national, will prove by its happy termination what a great nation, united in its love to its king and its laws, can effect."

This speech was delivered in a firm, yet impassioned tone of voice, and was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause. At its conclusion the whole Assembly arose, and, as if with one voice exclaimed, "The King for ever!—We will die for the King!—The King in life and death!" Monsieur now advanced to the foot of the throne, and raising his hand, declared, in the name of himself and his family, "We swear on our honour to live and die faithful to our King, and to the constitutional charter, which secures the happiness of the French!" The royal brothers instantly embraced,

and the scene of enthusiastic loyalty which followed would lead a spectator, ignorant of the French character, to suppose that the Bourbon throne was fixed on imperishable foundations. The Chambers voted an affectionate and respectful address to the King, in which they declared their readiness to sacrifice their fortunes and their lives in his defence, expressing at the same time their conviction, that the government would confide, for the public weal, in *men at once energetic and moderate*, thus tacitly signifying their disapprobation of the existing Ministers. To this followed some hasty enactments for redressing such grievances as the army had complained of—for arming the people, recompensing those who should effectually serve the King, and pardoning all whom the invader had deluded. Laws were also passed, declaring the irrevocability of the national domains, and affording security against the re-establishment of tithes or feudal services.

The Legislative Body having thus declared the Royal cause to be that of the nation, Louis resolved to ascertain the sentiments of the troops to whom the capital had been entrusted. The National Guard of Paris, amounting to 25,000 men, filed before him in the inner court of the Thuilleries, and closed the review with a general shout of *Vive le Roi!* Louis then repaired to the *Place du Carousel*, where six thousand troops of the line were drawn up. They received him with respect,

hoisting their caps on the points of their bayonets but uttering no shout. Louis seemed deeply affected, the conduct of the troops, in the eye of sober reason, appearing ominous of their meditated treachery: but the majority of the courtiers thought otherwise, and these troops, with a portion of the national guards were instantly ordered to the camp at Melun, which was thus increased to 28,000 men. But Louis had now lost all confidence in his army, and he began to make serious preparations to quit his capital.

Napoleon left Lyons on the 14th in an open carriage escorted by a few dragoons, and was frequently more than a league before his advanced-guard. The populace, in the towns through which he passed, often impeded his progress, and deafened him with shouts of welcome. He returned their greetings with smiles, caresses, and scattering amongst them crosses of the Legion of Honour. When he met any of the royal troops on the road, he had only to command them to follow him, and the order was instantly obeyed. At Auxerre he was joined on the 17th by Ney's corps. On the 19th he slept at Fontainebleau, the scene of his abdication, and made his arrangements for approaching the camp at Melun.*

* Many anecdotes are related of this triumphal progress of Napoleon, which strikingly exhibited the astonishing influence which he possessed over the minds of the French soldiery, and the extraordinary talents by which he maintained it under all circumstances. In every instance his presence operated as a spell to

The royal troops at this important station were under the command of Marshal Macdonald and the Duke de Berri, who drew them up in three lines; the centre occupied the Paris road, and the intervals and flanks were armed with batteries. From the dawn of the 20th the troops awaited the approach of the hostile van-guard in silence, broken at intervals by the voice of the commanders, or by the regimental bands playing "*O Richard!—O mon Roi!*" "*Vive Henri Quatre!*" "*La Belle Gabrielle,*" and other airs consecrated to the Bourbon cause. The morning passed without any appearance of hostile preparation on the side of Fontainebleau, and the King's friends began to

dissolve every tie, however sacred, but that of attachment to his cause. A few posts from Lyons he descried a regiment of dragoons advancing under the white standard, to oppose him. In a moment he quitted his carriage, mounted a led horse, and, accompanied by a single aid-de-camp, rode forward to meet them. Approaching the Colonel, he, without one word of preface, ordered the regiment to break into column and follow him, and the order was instantly obeyed. At Auxerre he met the 14th regiment of the line, who, as soon as he appeared, trampled under foot the white cockade. Napoleon smiling at their ardour in his cause, walked through the ranks, and spoke familiarly to several of the men whom he pretended to recollect. After gently slapping an old soldier decorated with three medals, on the shoulder, he said to him, "And you, how long have you been in the service?" "Twenty-five years, Sir!" "Ah! I recollect," interrupted Napoleon, "we were together at Rivoli, where we took seven pieces of cannon. I see that you are a good soldier, and I will take care of you."

indulge a hope, that Napoleon's heart had failed him, and that he had retreated. This illusion was quickly dissipated, but in a manner very different from what had been looked for. About noon an open carriage attended by a few hussars, appeared on the skirts of the forest. It drove down the hills with such rapidity, that in a few moments it was close to the advanced posts. The escort instantly threw down their arms, and rushed forward to embrace the King's troops. There appeared, on the part of the latter, a momentary irresolution, but when the carriage reached them, and Napoleon was recognised, "*Vive l'Empereur ! — Napoleon ! — Napoleon le Grand !*" was repeated from rank to rank, while the hero of this singular scene continued his course bare-headed, with Bertrand and Drouet on either side, waving his hand, or opening his arms to the soldiers, whom he called his friends, his companions in arms, whose honour, whose glories, whose country he now came to restore. Abandoned by their followers, the Royal Commanders were forced to fly, while acclamations rent the air—the Imperial march was played by the same performers, who, but a few minutes before celebrated the glories of the Bourbons, and the hostile armies were now united in one formidable phalanx, at whose head Napoleon immediately resumed his march to Paris.

Though Louis had anticipated this result, he was anxious to await the coming of Napoleon, often repeating the language which he had used to the Legislative Body, "Can I better terminate my career of sixty years, than by ending my life in defence of my people?" His friends, however, convinced him that this would prove an unavailing sacrifice, and he left Paris at one o'clock on the morning of the same day upon which the defection of the Camp of Melun occurred. His preparations were made with such evident haste, that on his table were found his correspondence with the Duchess of Angouleme for many years, and in his drawers many letters which had passed between him and Louis XVI. with a medal of that ill-fated monarch, which he was daily in the habit of wearing. Crowds, including many of the national guards, attended his departure, even at that early hour, and there was a general exclamation of *Vive le Roi!*" accompanied by sobs and tears. "Cease your tears, my friends," said the good monarch, "I shall soon return." Louis manifested the benevolence of his heart, by taking with him in his carriage the Duchess of Serment, the friend of Maria Antoinette, and governess of the Duchess of Angouleme, whom the loss of her only daughter who was burned to death, had reduced to a state approaching to idiotism. He took the road to Lisle escorted by the household troops.

When day-light appeared, a proclamation of

Louis was found placarded on the walls of the metropolis, stating that Divine Providence who had recalled him to the throne of his fathers, had now permitted it to be shaken by the defection of a part of the armed force, who had sworn to defend it. Notwithstanding the faithful and patriotic dispositions of an immense majority of the inhabitants of Paris, to dispute the entrance of the rebels into it, he shuddered at the calamities of every description, which a combat within its walls would bring upon the citizens: he therefore retired with a few brave men whom intrigue and perfidy could not detach from their duties. With these he would proceed to some distance, to collect forces and to seek at another point of the kingdom, not for subjects more loving and faithful than his Parisians, but for Frenchmen more advantageously situated to declare themselves in favour of the good cause. He indulged the pleasing presentiment, that the deluded soldiers, whose defection had exposed his subjects to so many dangers, would soon discover their error, and find in his indulgence, and affection, the recompense of their return to their duty. He predicted his own speedy return, to bring once more peace and happiness to his good people, and for these causes, he declared the Session of the Chambers of Peers and Deputies to be at an end, and the convocation of a new Session, to meet at the soonest possible period in the place which should be pointed out as the provisional seat of his government.

For a few hours after the departure of the King was known, consternation and anxiety to learn the result of the supposed battle at Melun, appeared to be the prevailing feelings in Paris. Anxious enquirers filled every street and square, and all the avenues to the Thuilleries. As mid-day approached some contests took place between the hostile factions; shouts of *Vive l'Roi!* were frequently drowned by those of *Vive l'Empereur!* and the prompt interference of the national guard alone, prevented the effusion of blood. Some of the soldiers who had marched to oppose Napoleon, now returned bearing his colours. The shopkeepers were instantly on the alert to remove every vestige of royalty, and before night the lily was superseded by the eagle in every quarter of the capital, and violets, with ribbands and rings of the same colour, were universally displayed. Lavalette, who had for some days been concealed in the Hotel of the Duchess of St. Leu, now replaced without opposition the superintendent of the Post Office, appointed by the King; and he took the most prompt measures for intercepting the journals which contained the King's proclamation, and despatching an official intimation to every part of France, that Napoleon was in undisputed possession of his former authority.

In the evening the approach of the Emperor was announced. Several general officers with the municipal body had gone many hours before to

welcome the arrival of the man, whom the day before, they stigmatised as a usurper. On this singular inconsistency of the Parisians, Chateaubriand observes : " In perusing the journals of the 20th and 21st of March, we seem to be reading the history of two different nations. In the former, thirty thousand national guards, three thousand volunteers, and ten thousand students of all classes, join in uttering cries of rage against the tyrant ; in the latter, they all bless his appearance." Led horses and splendid equipages for the use of Napoleon, accompanied this procession, but he deemed it more in character to enter Paris in the spattered vehicle which had conveyed him to Elba, and from thence back to the French capital : in this he arrived at the Thuilleries about nine o'clock at night. The multitude which waited to greet his arrival, was so great as to endanger his safety, and his officers were obliged to bear him in their arms into the state apartments, where his two sisters, the Princesses Julia and Hortensia, with some of his old Ministers, were assembled to bid him welcome. He now appeared to be as fully in possession of his former power, as if he had never been deprived of it.

This singular and sudden revolution which again subverted the Bourbon throne, excited, as it well might, the astonishment of Europe, and called forth some judicious observations from men of various sentiments. Of Napoleon's journey from Cannes to Paris, a celebrated periodical pub-

lication,* said, "It was without a parallel in history, and much beyond the limits of probable fiction. Every soldier sent against him joined his force. Where resistance seemed for a moment to be threatened, it was disarmed by the sound of his voice, and the ascendancy of a victorious leader over soldiers, was never before so brilliantly and triumphantly exemplified. Civilized society was never before so terribly warned of the force of those military virtues, which are the greatest of civil-vices. In twenty days he found himself quietly seated on the throne of France without having spilled a drop of blood. The change had no resemblance to a revolution in a European country where great bodies of men are interested in the preservation of authority, and where every body takes some interest for or against political mutation. It had nothing of the violence of popular revolt. It was a bloodless and orderly military sedition. In the levity with which authority was transferred, it bore some resemblance to an oriental revolution: but the total absence of those great characteristic features, the murder and imprisonment of princes, destroyed the likeness. It is in short, an event of which the scene could have been laid by a romance writer, bold enough to have imagined it in no other time or country, than in France in the year 1815." The conduct of the

* The Edinburgh Review.

French army was with some, the object of the highest panegyric, as indicating a noble attachment to their once celebrated leader, which no change of circumstances could destroy, whilst by others it was viewed as exhibiting the basest perfidy that ever disgraced a military body. "Bonaparte," said the eloquent Chateaubriand, "placed by a strange fatality between the coasts of France and Italy, appeared like Genseric, at the point to which he was called by the anger of God. He came, the hope of all who had committed, and of all those who meditated to commit crimes;—he came, and he succeeded. Men, loaded with the King's bounties, and decorated with his honours, kissed in the morning that royal hand, which they betrayed in the evening. Rebellious subjects, bad Frenchmen, false chevaliers! scarcely had the oath which they proffered to the King expired on their lips, when they went bearing the lily on their breasts, to swear perjury, if I may so speak, to him who had so often proved himself a disloyal traitor and a felon." However the conduct of the French army may be palliated, this invective, with respect to certain individuals, was but too just.

Louis, in the mean time, pursued his journey to the North of France. He was every where received with the acclamations of the people, and the silent respect of the military. The household troops marched by Amiens, whilst he himself, ac-

accompanied by Marshal Macdonald, hastened to secure Lisle, the strongest fortress in France, the occupation of which would have opened the gates of the kingdom to his foreign auxiliaries, or become a place of security to his faithful subjects. But on his arrival, Marshal Mortier assured him that he could not be responsible for the fidelity of the garrison, who hearing that the household troops were approaching, formed the daring project of seizing the person of the king. His Majesty had left Lisle but a short time, when orders arrived from Davoust, the new Minister at War, for his arrest, and that of his family; and the Duke of Orleans, who was still in the town, escaped only by Marshal Mortier suppressing the order till after he had quitted it. The unfortunate Monarch continued his journey till he arrived at Ghent where he fixed his exiled Court.—The march of the household troops under the Duke of Berri was attended by disasters of various kinds. They were pursued by a body of French cavalry into a morass where some of them perished, and after the Duke dismissed them at Bethune, several of them were slain, while attempting to return to their homes.

Some fruitless efforts were also made to revive the spirit of loyalty in the West and South of France. For this object the Duke of Bourbon had repaired to La Vendée where numbers of the inhabitants immediately flocked to his standard; but

they were unarmed and undisciplined, and as a strong body of Napoleon's troops was advancing against him, he was compelled to abandon the enterprise. The Duke and Duchess of Angoulême were on a progress through the South of France at the period of Napoleon's disembarkation, and they arrived at Bourdeaux on the 2nd of March. It was during a fête given by the merchants on the 4th that the alarming intelligence arrived, and the Duke set out at midnight to avail himself of the zeal which the inhabitants of Provence, particularly of Marseilles, had evinced for the Bourbon cause. The Duchess remained at Bourdeaux, and on the following day M. Lynch, the celebrated Mayor, who had been the first to declare for the Royal cause in the preceding year, with all the civil and military authorities, waited on his Royal Highness, uninvited, to renew their oath of fidelity. The national guards were called out, numerous volunteers enrolled themselves, and the officers of the troops of the line declared that they would answer with their heads for the conduct of the garrison. But the news of Napoleon's successful advance to Lyons cooled the ardour of the latter, and in a few days the tri-coloured flag was hoisted at Fort de Blaye. At this juncture M. de Lainé, the president of the Chamber of Deputies, arrived from Paris, and issued a proclamation in the name of the nation, calling on the Bordelese to use all the means in their power to resist the usurper. Animated by his spirited assistance, the

Duchess renewed her efforts to place the town in a posture of defence, as a body of Napoleon's troops under General Clausel was approaching. To spare the city from a bombardment the heroic Princess declared her determination to march out at the head of the garrison, and attack the enemy : but the governor said he could not be answerable for the fidelity of the troops. " Then," she replied, " the national guards and volunteers are sufficient." The governor observed that in that case the garrison would follow and place them between two fires. She considered it impossible that they could be guilty of such treachery, and resolved herself to address the troops. For this purpose she repaired to one of the barracks, and placing herself in the midst of a square of infantry, she depicted in lively colours, the character of the invader, and the danger which threatened the country, and reminded them of the oath which they had taken. She was heard with respectful silence. " Will you not fight," said she, " for the daughter of your King?" " No! no!" resounded from every rank. " Will you then remain neutral if the national guards and volunteers advance to the attack?" " No!" they again replied. The Princess burst into tears. " Will you, then, betray me, and give me up to my enemies?" " No!" said they, " but we do not wish for a civil war, and we desire you to quit France." Undismayed by the result of her first attempt, she repaired to another barrack where her eloquence and her tears proved also

unavailing. One officer alone said, "This is too much!" Sheathing his sword, he placed himself by her side, and exclaimed, "I will follow you every where."

As she now perceived that the town could not be effectually defended, her next object was to preserve it from pillage. She repaired to the parade of the national guards and volunteers, who demanded with eagerness to be led against the foe. She replied by requiring from them an oath of obedience. On this being unanimously given, she continued, "Faithful Bordelais! I entreat you to think no longer of defending the city; you are not supported by the troops, and your efforts will be useless." Notwithstanding this prudent advice, the volunteers could with difficulty be restrained from firing on the troops of General Clausel, then drawn up on the opposite side of the river.

The heroic Princess quitted Bourdeaux on the following day, and embarked at Poillac, on board an English frigate, to which she was accompanied by some officers of the national guards and other loyal inhabitants of Bourdeaux. As she went on board she held out her hand to some English ladies, who seemed much affected. "O! go to our England," said one of them, "you will be cherished there." "Yes, yes," replied the Duchess, "I am now going to your country," and she joined with them in ardent prayers, that this storm would be quickly over. Bourdeaux was now occupied by

the troops of Napoleon, and a few days after Toulouse experienced a similar fate.

The Duke of Angouleme had in the mean time assembled an army of near six thousand men, with which he at first gained some success, routing a body of Bonapartists at the passage of the Drome, from whom he took eight hundred prisoners and some cannon. But his troops soon caught the contagion of disloyalty, and after many of them had abandoned his colours, Generals Grouchy and Pire advanced upon him from different points.—The fall of Bourdeaux, Toulouse, and other places in the South having now destroyed every gleam of hope, the Duke was compelled to conclude a convention with General Gilly, by which he agreed to dismiss his army, on condition that his soldiers should not be molested, and that he himself should be permitted to embark for Spain, at the port of Cette. Grouchy, on his arrival refused to accede to this convention, and wrote to Paris for instructions : but Napoleon deemed it most prudent to ratify the terms which had been granted by General Gilly, requiring at the same time a promise from the Duke of Angouleme, that he would endeavour to procure the restoration of the crown jewels, which the King had carried with him to Ghent. The surrender of the important ports of Toulouse and Marseilles quickly followed, and in little more than a month after the landing of Napoleon, the Bourbon standard ceased to wave in every town of France.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Declaration of the Allied Powers assembled at the Congress of Vienna.—New Treaty signed by the Allies.—Debate in the British Parliament on the Return of Napoleon.—Speeches of Lord Castlereagh, Sir James Mackintosh, &c.—Measures adopted by Napoleon for consolidating his Government.—Review of the Troops at Paris.—Firmness of the Swiss Colonel D’Affry.—Discovery of a Plot for carrying off the Empress Maria Louisa and her Son from Vienna.—Addresses from the various Public Bodies.—Napoleon’s Moderation.—Discordant Principles of the New Ministry.—Activity of the Royalists.—Abolition of the Censorship of the Press and the Slave Trade.—Measures for conciliating the Foreign Powers.—Napoleon’s Letter to the Sovereigns.—Justificatory Manifesto.—The Sieur Brulart.—Resolution of the Allied Sovereigns not to reply to those Documents.—Reasons of the Allies for adhering to the Declaration of the 13th of March.—Proceedings in the British Parliament on the question of Peace or War.—Speeches of Mr. Whitbread, Lord Castlereagh, Earl Grey, Lord Grenville, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Plunkett.—The Parliament decides for immediate Hostilities.

Napoleon was deceived when he declared at his landing, “The Congress is dissolved ;” for he had scarcely reassumed his government, when the rumour circulated by his friends, that he had concluded a treaty for twenty years with the powers of Europe, was falsified by the denunciation of his person and intentions, by the Representatives of those powers, in the following manifesto, which was published at Vienna on the 13th of March :—

DECLARATION.

The Powers who have signed the Treaty of Paris, assembled at the Congress of Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Buonaparte, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity, and the interest of social order, to make a solemn Declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them.

By thus breaking the Convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Bonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; and by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe, that there can be neither peace nor truce with him.

The Powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Buonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, and that as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance. They declare, at the same time, that, firmly resolved to maintain entire, the Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by the treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their efforts, that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled; and to provide against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders of Revolution.

And although entirely persuaded, that all France, rallying round its legitimate Sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium, all the Sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same principles, declare, that if contrary to all calculation, there should result from this event any real danger, they will be ready to give to the King of France, and the French nation, or to any other government, that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who should undertake to compromise it.

This Manifesto was signed by the Duke of Wellington, the Earl of Clancarty, Lords Cathcart and Stewart, on the part of Great Britain; and by the Representatives of Austria, Russia, France, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden: nor was it an idle menace, for the very evening on which the intelligence of the landing of Napoleon arrived at Vienna, the Emperor Alexander despatched a courier to St. Petersburg, to order the immediate march of the Imperial Guard, and similar instructions were soon sent by the other Princes to their respective dominions. On the 25th of March, a treaty was concluded between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, confirming the league entered into at Chaumont. By this new compact they declared their resolution to enforce the Treaty of Paris, which excluded Buonaparte from the throne of France, and the decree of outlawry issued against him, and each of the contracting parties agreed to keep constantly in the field an army of 150,000 men complete, with the due proportion of cavalry and artillery; and not to lay down their arms until Buonaparte should be rendered incapable of disturbing the peace of Europe. The other powers of Europe, and particularly the King of France, were invited to become parties to this league. To the King of Great Britain was left the option of furnishing his contingent in men, or in lieu of each cavalry soldier to pay thirty pounds, and of each infantry soldier twenty pounds per annum. To this treaty the Prince

Regent of England subjoined a declaration, stating that it should not be understood as binding his Britannic Majesty to prosecute the war with the view of forcibly imposing upon France any particular government.

The first official notice of the subversion of the Bourbon Government, was communicated to the British Parliament on the 7th of April, by a message from the Prince Regent, which stated that the recent events in France were in direct contravention of the treaties of Fontainebleau and Paris, and necessarily implied a justifiable cause of war. In the House of Commons Lord Castlereagh moved an Address in answer to the message, declaratory of their determination to support his Royal Highness in the adoption of such measures, in conjunction with his Allies, as might be called for by the general tranquillity of Europe. Upon this occasion his Lordship endeavoured to vindicate the Allied Sovereigns from the charge that in the Treaty of Fontainebleau they had exercised an imprudent generosity, contending that the exercise of that principle was due to all countries, until they do something which prevents their opponents from being generous to them, without risking the imputation of being unjust and ruinous to themselves. He had himself at first opposed the arrangement, from a conviction of the danger of placing such a character as Buonaparte, immediately in the neighbourhood of his former empire: but he withdrew that opposition, from the

consideration that he was not at the time within the grasp of the Allies ; but still possessed considerable means to prolong the warfare. In reply to the charge of negligence, which had been brought against the Allies for permitting Buonaparte to escape from Elba, Lord Castlereagh observed, that it had never been contemplated that he should be a prisoner within any settlement, to restrain him from any sea-excursions in the vicinity, for his recreation ; or to exercise any system of *espionage* over him. He was invested with the entire sovereignty of the island ; and if the Allies had been even inclined to establish a naval police to hem him in, the whole British navy would have been found inadequate to such a purpose. He had kept his intended enterprize so completely within his own breast, that it was unknown to his most confidential friends, till within an hour of his embarkation, and then the few English on the island, were placed under *surveillance*. France had vessels cruising in that neighbourhood, and the Admirals Hallowell and Lord Exmouth, had orders to frustrate any attempts he might make at a descent : so that no precaution had been neglected, which had been permitted by the treaty of Fontainebleau. Lord Castlereagh then examined an allegation which Napoleon had made as a palliation of his infraction of the treaty, namely, that the stipulated pension had not been faithfully remitted to him. His Lordship stated, that on

hearing this rumour, he remonstrated with the French Court, and although he received for a reply, that Buonaparte was not entitled to his pension for the lapse of a year, and that he had manifested a disposition to infringe the treaty, he insisted that he should be supplied with such pecuniary assistance in the interim, as his necessities might require. After stating these circumstances, his Lordship recommended that the conduct of the country should, for the present, be merely precautionary. The restoration of Buonaparte had been exclusively the work of the military, who looking forward to war as the means of enriching themselves, were the natural enemies of a peaceful Sovereign. From such a state of things the danger was apparent ; yet he was of opinion that Britain ought neither to urge the Continental Powers to war, nor to suffer herself to be precipitated into it by their ardour : the Prince Regent should, however, be supported in making such arrangements with his Allies, as might best provide for the general security of Europe.

A great majority of the House of Commons, including many of the most distinguished members of the Opposition, supported the measures proposed by Lord Castlereagh ; but Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Whitbread, and a few others, adopted a different line of conduct, asserting that they considered the Address as the first step for plunging the nation into a struggle, which would be as unsucces-

ful in the event, as unjust in its principle. It was plain, they said, that Buonaparte was the ruler of France by the choice of the people—any attempt therefore, to impose by force a government on an independent people, would be a war for the benefit of the Bourbons—for that detestable principle, the re-establishment of what were called legitimate Sovereigns, as if nations belonged irrevocably to certain families. The Declaration of the Congress, they pronounced to be inconsistent with the law of nations, and hostile to every principle of social order.

On the 28th of April the Hon. Mr. Abercrombie brought forward a motion of enquiry into the precautions taken by Ministers, to prevent the departure of Buonaparte from Elba, insisting on the one hand that the Treaty of Fontainbleau gave them a right to watch him with the most scrupulous jealousy; while on the other, the points of the Treaty in Napoleon's favor, should have been fully and faithfully executed. Sir James Mackintosh took an impartial and enlightened view of the real state of the question, frankly admitting that the escape of Buonaparte had renewed the hostile relation between that person, and the Sovereigns with whom he concluded the Treaty of Fontainbleau. He said, it was not in the power of eloquence to magnify the evil.—Wars which had raged for twenty-five years, spreading blood and desolation from Cadiz to Moscow, and from Naples

to Copeuhagen ; wasting the means of human enjoyment, destroying the instruments of social improvement, and threatening to diffuse throughout Europe, the dissolute and ferocious habits of a predatory soldiery, had been brought to a close, with no violent shock to national independence ; without any signal, or too mortifying triumph over the legitimate interests or avowable feelings of any numerous body of men, and above all, without those retaliations against nations or parties which beget new convulsions, often as horrible as those which they close, and perpetuate revenge, and hatred, and blood from age to age. Europe had begun to breathe after her sufferings ; but in the midst of these fair prospects Napoleon escapes from Elba—three small vessels reach the coast of Provence—their hopes are instantly dispelled—the work of toil and fortitude is undone—the blood of Europe is spilt in vain—

Ibi omnis effusus labor !

His friends on that side of the House agreed with him that in the theory of public law, the assumption of power by Napoleon had given to the Allies a just cause of war with France ; for nothing could be more obvious than that the perpetual renunciation of the supreme authority, was the most important condition on which the Allies had granted peace to France. It was in consideration of the safer and more inoffensive state of France, when separated from her terrible leader,

that confederated Europe had consented to moderate and favourable terms of peace ; but as soon as France had violated this important condition by again submitting to the authority of Napoleon, the Allies were doubtless, released from their part of the compact, and re-entered into their belligerent rights. That Europe was again reduced to its present painful situation, was to be attributed to the negligence of those whose duty it was to have guarded against the event which had occurred. He ridiculed the idea that the want of vigilance had arisen from their respect for Napoleon, as an independent Prince ; or that those Sovereigns who had starved Norway into subjection—sanctioned the annihilation of Poland, the subjugation of Venice, and the transfer of Genoa, should be seized with such profound reverence for the independent Sovereign of Elba, and shrink with horror from the idea of saving the peace of Europe, by preventing his departure from Porto Ferrajo !

In the course of this debate, it was urged against Ministers, that many points of the Treaty had not been fully and faithfully executed : Napoleon's pension had not been regularly paid—he had been deprived of the society of his wife and child : the stipulation which conferred Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla on Maria Louisa and her son, had not been fulfilled, and a report prevailed that it was contemplated by the Congress of Vienna, to

remove Buonaparte from Elba to St. Helena or St. Lucie. To these allegations the Ministers replied, that with respect to the payment of Napoleon's pension, though they were in no shape bound to guarantee it, they had used their warm interference with the French Government, as soon as they had heard of this subject of complaint—so far from the Empress and her son being forcibly detained from him, Maria Louisa had refused to accompany him,—the clause of the treaty which respected the Duchy of Parma, &c. had been made in favour of the Empress, and any arrangement respecting it concerned her interests alone, as these states were to be conferred on her in full sovereignty. Finally Lord Castlereagh denied that there had been any plan agitated at the Congress for removing Buonaparte from Elba. Majorities in both Houses of Parliament declared their approbation of the conduct of the Ministry.

While the powers of Europe were deliberating on the course to be pursued at this extraordinary crisis, Napoleon was busily employed in adopting such measures as were likely to strengthen the authority which he had re-assumed, and frustrate every attempt for its subversion. His first step was an effort to rally around him the various political parties into which France had been divided, and he seemed particularly to court the old republicans. On the morning after his arrival in Paris, he had an interview with the celebrated Carnot, to whom he is said to have deplored that thirst for

conquest, which had led him into such fatal excesses, renounced the idea of a military government, and declared his determination to give France a free constitution. He required, however, that Carnot and his friends should relinquish the sternness of the republican character, and that as a proof of his approbation of a limited Monarchy, he should accept a title of nobility. With this proposition Carnot, after some hesitation, acquiesced, and all parties, apparently confiding in the sincerity of his intentions, seemed willing to rally round the Imperial throne.

The assurances which Napoleon had given to his new Ministers, that he was supported by Austria, and that the Empress and her son were on their way to Paris,* led them to hope that the new Government would remain undisturbed by foreign hostilities: they were, however, soon startled from this pleasing dream, by the terrific

* A plot was discovered about this time at Vienna, for carrying off Maria Louisa and young Napoleon. The attention of the Police was excited by some suspicious conduct of the Frenchmen in that metropolis. An officer of that nation was arrested coming out of a window in the palace, where he had been employed in preparing for the execution of the project. A large bribe which he offered to the Police, led to the discovery of his business in the Palace; and the Emperor of Austria immediately adopted measures, to shew that all his ties with Buonaparte were dissolved for ever. He ordered Maria Louisa to lay aside the arms and liveries of her husband, and to dismiss her French attendants; and he took such precautions as were necessary for her security and that of her infant son.

Declaration of the Allies. But although this rendered the duplicity which had been practised on them sufficiently evident, they had advanced too far to retrograde, and no alternative now remained, but to unite all Frenchmen to repel the blow which was aimed by foreigners at their independence. For this purpose, the French Cabinet resolved to publish a vindication of Napoleon's conduct in re-ascending the throne of France, to present to the nation a Constitution which should satisfy every friend of rational liberty, and transmit to every court in Europe direct overtures for the preservation of peace.

Napoleon, however, perceived that his chief hope still rested on the ardent fidelity of the army; and this he determined to cultivate by the exercise of those arts, by which an accomplished military leader knows so well how to gain the affections of his followers. On the day after his arrival in Paris, he reviewed his soldiers in the Place du Carousel. His appearance was announced by the most enthusiastic shouts; and after he had passed the line, he formed the whole army into a square for the purpose of addressing them. "Soldiers!" said he, "I arrived in France with six hundred men, because I calculated upon the love of the people, and on the remembrance of my veterans. I was not deceived in my expectations. Soldiers! I thank you; glory like that which we are about to acquire is every thing to the people, and to

you ! My glory is, that I have known and valued you ! Soldiers ! the throne of the Bourbons was illegitimate, because it was built by the hands of strangers ; because it was proscribed by the voice of the nation declared in all our national assemblies ; because, in short, it offered a guarantee only to the interests of a few men, whose arrogant pretensions were opposed to our rights. Soldiers ! the imperial throne only can secure the rights of the people, and above all, the first of our interests—our glory. Soldiers ! we are now to march to hunt from our territories those Princes, auxiliaries to strangers ; the nation will not only second us in our protestations, but will follow our impulse. The French people and I calculate upon you. We will not interfere with the affairs of foreign nations ; but woe to those that shall interfere with ours !”

At this period of the harangue, General Cambronne, and the officers of the battalion of Elba appeared with the ancient eagles of the guard—Napoleon continued :—“ These are the officers of the battalion that have accompanied me in my misfortunes. Every man is my friend. They are dear to my heart !—Every time I beheld them, they brought before my eyes the regiments of the army, for among these brave fellows are men from every regiment. They have recalled to my mind those glorious days of which even the memory is so dear, for they are all covered with

honorable scars gained in memorable battles. In loving them, it was you, Soldiers! the whole French army that I loved. They bring you back your eagles. Let them serve you as a rallying point. In giving them to the Guards, I give them to the whole army. Treason and unfortunate events had covered them with a melancholy veil; but, thanks to the French people and to you! they now appear resplendent in all their glory. Swear that they shall always be present, wherever the interests of the country shall require them, and that traitors, and those who would wish to invade our territory, shall never endure their sight." The oath was repeated by the soldiers with the most ardent enthusiasm.*

* The spirited conduct of Colonel D'Afry of the Swiss Guards, became at this time a subject of general admiration among the friends of the King. At the conclusion of the foregoing ceremony, Napoleon informed the Colonel that he should review his troops on the following day. D'Afry coldly replied, that he should do his duty. At the review, Napoleon missing the Swiss, dispatched an aid-de-camp, to require their attendance: Colonel D'Afry said to the aid-de-camp, with great firmness, "I acknowledge only the orders of the King;" and on the answer being reported to Napoleon, he concluded the review, and invited D'Afry to attend him at the palace. When the Colonel entered the Hall of the Marshals, two officers demanded his sword. He drew it, retreated a step or two, and placing himself in a posture of defence, exclaimed, "Let the bravest of you take it!" He passed without further opposition, and after he was introduced to the presence of Napoleon, the following conversation took place:—

To the Addresses which were presented to him by the various public bodies he answered in language which, if sincere, would imply that he had renounced all his former passion for arbitrary power. To the Ministers he said: "All for the

Napoleon,—(sternly) "Why have you not obeyed my orders?"

D'Affry,—"Because I acknowledge only the authority of the King and the Cantons."

N.—"Know you to whom you speak?"

D.—"Yes, I am addressing General Buonaparte."

N.—"You are addressing the Emperor of the French, and in that title I order you to repair to the square of the Carousel, with your regiment, that I may review you."

D.—"General! I have already had the honor to inform you that I will receive the orders of the King alone, to whom I have sworn allegiance."

N.—"You took the same oath to me five years ago?"

D.—"You released me from that oath by your abdication."

N.—"I would have you recollect yourself."

D.—"You will have the goodness to recollect that I belong to the Cantons."

N.—"I will reduce them to submission."

D.—"You will not easily reduce three hundred thousand men, resolved to lose their lives rather than their liberty."

N.—"Yet you were reduced by the Austrians."

D.—"And we were relieved by William Tell."

"Enough," said Napoleon, turning to one of his Ministers, and thus terminated this singular conversation. The Court was astonished at the boldness of the Swiss Colonel, and expected that an order for his immediate arrest, must have been its certain consequence. But this would not have answered Napoleon's present policy. He was permitted to depart, and all attempts to seduce the Swiss troops from their allegiance having failed, they were suffered to return to their native country.

nation ; all for France !—that is my motto.” The Council of State declared in their address, “ The Sovereignty rests in the people.—The people are the only source of legitimate power ;” and they called upon the Emperor to guarantee anew, by fresh institutions, individual liberty, the equality of rights, the liberty of the press, the abolition of the censorship, the freedom of worship, the voting of taxes and laws by the representatives of the nation freely elected, the inviolability of national property of every origin, the independence and irrevocability of the tribunals, with the responsibility of Ministers and all the agents of the government. In the necessity of the firm establishment of these salutary guards of freedom, Napoleon, who a year before had haughtily declared, “ I am the throne—the representation of the people is vested in me—the nation is mine,” now fully acquiesced. “ Princes,” said he, “ are the first citizens of the state.—Their authority is more or less extended according to the interests of the nation, whom they govern. The sovereignty itself is only hereditary, because the welfare of the people requires it. Departing from this principle I know no legitimacy.—I have renounced the idea of the Grand Empire, of which, during fifteen years I had but founded the bases. Henceforth the happiness and the consolidation of the French Empire shall be all my thoughts.”

The Ministry appointed by Napoleon, like that of Louis, was composed of discordant principles,* Imperialists and Jacobins, who were united only by their mutual hatred of the Bourbons. Numerous disputes are said to have arisen amongst them, for Napoleon, notwithstanding his apparent conversion to the system of a popular constitution, frequently urged the necessity, while the country was exposed to peril both foreign and domestic, of investing the Sovereign with temporary authority of an almost despotic character; but this the Jacobins considered as an experiment too dangerous to be hazarded. Mutual jealousies were the consequence, which did not escape the notice of the public, and the Royalists failed not to take advantage of dissensions which augured so ill of the permanence of the new government. The agents of Louis gave the most extensive circulation to the proclamations which he issued from Ghent, forbidding the people to pay taxes to the usurped

* Cambaceres, Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, held the Seals; Gaudin, (Duke of Gaeta) was named Minister of Finance; Maret, (Duke of Bassano) Secretary of State; the Duke of Decres, Minister of the Marine and Colonies; Count Carnot, Minister of the Interior; Caulaincourt, (Duke of Vicenza) Minister of Foreign Affairs; Fouché, (Duke of Otranto) Minister of Police; Davoust, (Prince of Eckmühl) Minister of the War Department; Count Mollien was appointed to the Treasury; Savary, (Duke of Rovigo) to the Inspection of the Gendarmerie; Count de Bondy, to the Department of the Seine; and M. Real to the prefecture of the Police.

government, and acquainting them with the preparations which were making by united Europe for its overthrow. Lampoons, pasquinades, and pamphlets written with much force and eloquence, were circulated among the higher orders ;* while

* In one of these publications, the character of Napoleon was thus delineated :—" Buonaparte can, henceforth, deceive nobody in France ; for of all the parties which have survived our civil discords, the most credulous already perceive his perfidy. A few of those irritable, impassioned, and above all, credulous men, because they are generally generous and sensible ; a few of those men, I say, who have been dreaming during twenty years of an imaginary Republic, and have pursued their illusions through all governments and all anarchies, felt their hopes revive at the cry of liberty, which the mob in the train of Buonaparte raised on his passage to Paris.—They forgot that Buonaparte is the sworn enemy to liberty, the assassin of the republic, and the first violator of those sacred rights, of which they had so dearly paid the purchase.—They forgot that Buonaparte spoke also of liberty, when he destroyed the national representation of St. Cloud.—They forgot that it was in the name of the French Republic, that Buonaparte had established the most insolent despotism, of which mankind had ever supported the yoke.—They forgot that Buonaparte had attempted to suppress all the sentiments which united the citizen to the country, to extinguish all the lights of civilization, to paralyse every means of education.—They forgot that Buonaparte had proscribed every liberal and philosophic idea, under the title of ideology ; that he consecrated the most destructive principles of despotism in books, avowed by his ministers ; that he promised feudal privileges to his sbirri, and gave sovereignty to his satraps.—They forgot that heaven and hell are not more distant, than those most extremes of all the series of ideas which occupy the human mind—Buonaparte and liberty.—They forgot that the very word *liberty*, so cruelly proscribed under the iron reign of the usurper,

many of the lower classes vociferated in unequivocal language, their anxiety for the King's return. The abolition of the Censorship of the Press, which was one of the first acts of Napoleon, encouraged both the royalist and republican party, to whom he was equally an object of detestation, to express their opinions of the present state of things in no very measured language. The precarious situation of the new government, rendered it dangerous to adopt any strong measures for the suppression of the licentiousness of the press; and after a feeble attempt to restrain *Le Compte*, the Editor of *Le Censeur*, who said that Bonaparte loved liberty—but it was after the manner of *M. Fouché*, all parties were allowed to indulge themselves freely in the expression of their political sentiments.

Besides the suppression of the Censorship of the Press, some other measures were adopted by Napoleon, which were calculated to augment his popularity. The Slave Trade was abolished, a measure that was likely to conciliate the feelings of a majority of the British nation:—the obnoxious tax called *droits réunis*, was rendered less burthensome by some alleviating regulations; the

only gladdened our ears for the first time, after twelve years of humiliation and despair, on the happy restoration of Louis XVIII. Ah! miserable impostor, would you have spoken of liberty, had not Louis XVIII. brought back liberty and peace?"

freedom of religious worship was established in its fullest extent ; and an ordinance was issued for commencing a general system of education.

Napoleon and his Ministers were at the same time not inattentive to the singular situation in which the country stood with respect to the other powers of Europe ; and however slight their hopes of success must have been, they resolved to make such efforts to disarm the hostility of those powers, as would at least justify them in the eyes of the French people. On the 4th of April, Napoleon addressed a letter in his own hand-writing, to the various sovereigns of Europe, announcing his restoration to the throne of France, and expressing his anxious wish that the peace of Europe might be fixed on a permanent basis.* About

* The following is a translation of this celebrated letter.—

“ SIRE, MY BROTHER.”

“ You will have learnt, during the last month, my return to the Court of France, my entrance into Paris, and the departure of the family of the Bourbons. The true nature of these events must now be made known to your Majesty. They are the work of an irresistible power, the work of the unanimous will of a great nation, who knows her duties and her rights. The dynasty which force had given to the French people, was no longer suited to them. The Bourbons would neither associate themselves to their sentiments, or their manners. It became the duty of France to separate herself from them. Her voice called for a deliverer. The expectations which had determined me to make the greatest sacrifices had been deceived. I am come, and from the point where I touched the shore, the love of my people conveyed me to the bosom of my capital.

the same time Napoleon published a justificatory manifesto, in which he endeavoured not only to repel the accusation which had been made against him in the Declaration of the Allies, of having violated the treaty of Fontainebleau, but to charge the infraction of it upon themselves and the Bourbons.—After commenting with severity on the style of the manifesto, which he said countenanced the crime of assassination, he asserted that the

“ The first wish of my heart is to repay such affection, by the maintenance of an honourable tranquillity. The restoration of the Imperial throne was necessary to the happiness of the French. My sweetest thought is, to render it at the same time subservient to the maintenance of the repose of Europe. Enough of glory has shone by turns on the colours of various nations. The vicissitudes of fortune have often enough occasioned great reverses, followed by great successes.

“ A more brilliant arena is now open to Sovereigns, and I am the first to descend into it. After having presented to the world the spectacle of great battles, it will now be more delightful to know no other rivalry in future, but that resulting from the advantages of peace, and no other struggle but the sacred one of felicity for our people.

“ France has been pleased to proclaim with candour, this noble object of her unanimous wish. Jealous of her independence, the invariable principle of her policy will be the most rigid respect for the independence of other nations. If such then, as I trust they are, be the personal sentiments of your Majesty, general tranquillity is secured for a long time to come; and justice, seated on the confines of the various states, will be alone sufficient to guard their frontiers.

Paris, April 4th, 1815.

(SIGNED)

“ NAPOLEON.”

Allies had infringed the treaty, in the following particulars :—1st, By not permitting the Empress Maria Louisa and her son to repair to the Emperor at Elba.—2d, Although the security of Napoleon, his family and suite were guaranteed by all the powers, yet bands of assassins were organized in France, whose designs were directed against the Emperor and his brothers; not only was an insurrection prepared at Orgon on his route to Elba, to attempt Napoleon's life, but the Sieur Brulart, an associate of Georges, had been sent as governor to Corsica to make sure of the crime.*—

* The case of Brulart, according to Mr Boyce, was as follows :— Napoleon, soon after his first assumption of the French Government, having pacified La Vendée, granted pensions to the chiefs of the royalists, on certain conditions— Some were to exile themselves from France for ever; some not to quit La Vendée, and others to reside constantly in Paris: amongst the latter was the Sieur Brulart. Some time after the pacification, Brulart solicited permission for a friend who had stipulated not to leave La Vendée, to visit Paris. The request was granted by Buonaparte with apparent kindness; but the unfortunate man had no sooner arrived in the French capital, than he was seized and shot by the express command of Napoleon. Brulart fled, horror-struck, to England, from whence he wrote to Buonaparte, that as he had made him the innocent cause of the death of his friend, he would devote his life to avenge his blood on his murderer. The letter came into the hands of Buonaparte, who laughed at the menaces of the chivalrous enthusiast: but after the restoration, Brulart was appointed governor of Corsica, with directions to watch the island of Elba. For this purpose he fixed his residence at Bastia, from whence the passage to

3d, The spoliation, by the intrigues of Talleyrand, of the Duchies of Parma and Placentia, which had been given in full property to Maria Louisa, her son, and their descendants.—4th, The non-fulfilment of the stipulation to provide Eugene, the adopted son of Napoleon, with a suitable establishment out of France.—5th, Napoleon had been deprived of every means of rewarding his faithful followers.—6th, The plunder of his property in France by commissioned brigands, and in Italy by military chiefs.—7th, The non-payment by the French Government, of the two millions of francs per annum, assigned to himself; and of two millions five hundred thousand, assigned to his family, in consequence of which he would have been obliged to disband his faithful guards, had not some bankers and merchants of Genoa and Italy, generously advanced him twelve millions.—8th, In fine (said the Manifesto,) it was not without a cause that it was desirable by every means to remove from Napoleon the companions of his glory, the unshaken sureties of his safety, and of his existence.—The island of Elba was assigned to him in perpetuity; but the resolution of robbing him of it was at the instigation of the Bourbons, fixed upon by the

Elba might be made in a few hours. When Napoleon became acquainted with this circumstance, he recollected the letter, and from that moment secluded himself with the greatest caution from promiscuous society.

Congress. Had not Providence prevented it, Europe would have seen an attempt made on the person and liberty of Napoleon, left hereafter at the mercy of his enemies, and transported far from his friends and followers, either to St. Lucie or St. Helena, which had been pointed out as his prison. He then asserted that these infractions of the Treaty justified the step he had taken independent of other causes, arising from the internal state of France, and the errors of the Bourbons ; declared his renunciation of his former plans of aggrandisement, and his solemn determination to abide by the conditions of the Treaty of Paris, and deprecated the interference of foreign Sovereigns in the choice of the French people. The Manifesto concluded by asserting that nothing had been changed in France, if when the nation only demands to remain at peace with all Europe, an unjust coalition does not force it to defend, as it did in 1792, its will, and its rights, and its independence, and the Sovereign of its choice.

The Allied Sovereigns did not deign to reply to either of those documents. By some they were returned unopened, nor could they act otherwise consistently with their Declaration of the 13th of March, which declared that "Napoleon Buona-parté had placed himself without the pale of civil or social relations." The letter addressed to the Prince Regent of England was referred to the Congress at Vienna, and the Emperor of Austria

caused the bearer of the communications made to him to unseal them in the presence of the plenipotentiaries, who after hearing them read, came to an unanimous resolution to take no notice whatever of the proposals which they contained. They at the same time expressed their determination to adhere to their Declaration of the 13th of March, with respect to the actual ruler of France. "They are in a state of hostility," said the Congress, with him and his adherents, not from choice but from necessity, because past experience has shewn, that no faith has been kept by him ; and that no reliance can be placed upon the professions of one who has hitherto no longer regarded the most solemn compacts, than as it may have suited his own convenience to observe them ; whose word, the only assurance he can afford for his peaceable disposition, is not less in direct opposition to the tenor of his former life, than it is to the military position in which he is actually placed. They feel that they should neither perform their duty to themselves or to the people committed by Providence to their charge, if they were now to listen to those professions of a desire for peace which have been made, and suffer themselves thus to be lulled into the supposition, that they might now relieve their people from the burden of supporting immense military masses, by diminishing their forces to a peace establishment ; convinced as the several Sovereigns are, from past

experience, that no sooner should they have been disarmed, than advantage would be taken of their want of preparation to renew those scenes of aggression and bloodshed, from which they had hoped that the peace so gloriously won at Paris, would long have secured them. They are at war then for the purpose of obtaining some security for their own independence, and for the re-conquest of that peace and permanent tranquillity for which the world has so long panted. They are not even at war for the greater or less proportion of security which France can afford them of future tranquillity ; because France, under its present chief, is unable to afford them any security whatever. In this war they do not desire to interfere with any legitimate right of the French people ; they have no design to oppose the claims of the nation to choose their own form of government, or intention to trench, in any respect, upon their independence as a great and free people ; but they do think they have a right, and that of the highest nature, to contend against the re-establishment of an individual at the head of the French Government, whose past conduct has invariably demonstrated, that in such a situation he will not suffer other nations to be at peace—whose restless ambition, whose thirst for foreign conquest, and whose disregard for the rights and independence of other states, must expose the whole of Europe to renewed scenes of plunder and devastation. However gene-

ral the feelings of the Sovereigns may be in favor of the restoration of the King, they no otherwise seek to influence the proceedings of the French, in the choice of this or any other dynasty, or form of government, than may be essential to the safety and permanent tranquillity of the rest of Europe : such reasonable security being afforded by France in this respect, as other states have a legitimate right to claim in their own defence; their object will be satisfied ; and they shall joyfully return to that state of peace, which will then, and then only, be open to them, and lay down those arms which they have only taken for the purpose of acquiring that tranquillity so eagerly desired by them on the part of their respective empires."

Whatever defence the Allies might have set up against the charges brought against them by Napoleon, they seemed to think it more prudent by a vigorous effort to crush at once the power of their grand enemy, than by entering into a lengthened diplomatic discussion (which would at the same time compromise their dignity and consistency,) afford Napoleon leisure to recruit his strength. A great majority of the British Parliament, including the most distinguished Members of the Opposition were actuated by similar sentiments. On the 28th of April, Mr. Whitbread brought forward a motion for an Address, praying his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that he would be pleased to take measures for averting

the calamities of a war on the ground of the executive power of France being vested in any particular person. Mr. Whitbread took this opportunity of censuring in the strongest terms the Declaration of the Allies against the person of Buonaparte, and declared that the name of Wellington was sullied by being appended to that Manifesto. Mr. Wellesley Pole replied to the censure thrown out on this and a former occasion, on the conduct of his illustrious brother, for having signed the Declaration of the Allies, which Mr. Whitbread had stated as sanctioning the assassination of Buonaparte. He (Mr. W. Pole) happened to be with the Duke of Wellington, when the report of the Hon. Gentleman's speech reached him; and never was a man so shocked as he was, that one of his countrymen—one who had either known, seen, or heard of him—should have supposed that he signed a paper bearing such a construction, or that he could possibly give it such a construction. His only understanding was, that Buonaparte had forfeited his political rights. Lord Castlereagh asserted that not only Buonaparte, but the French nation had shamelessly broken the treaty of Fontainebleau, and that since France had become a party to the gross fraud practised by Buonaparte in violating this contract, that nation must be prepared for the consequences of such conduct, and expect the visitation of war and all its calamities, if it rejected the means of preserving its own

tranquillity and that of the world, by declining to discharge its duties, and that country must not be allowed to choose its field of action. No; instead of suffering the French to carry on war in Austria and Prussia as heretofore, if they would not ally themselves with those troops which sought the deliverance of Europe, and of France also, they must expect to experience in France itself the fruits of their own duplicity and imbecility. "Europe," said his Lordship, "has listened too long to such counsels as those of the honourable mover, which have too often paralyzed its efforts at various stages. But that honourable member, who has always manifested a disposition to lower the character of his own country, and who usually attacked with most bitterness those amongst our allies who were most intimately connected with it, as he should on a proper occasion fully prove, rested his statements upon the most imperfect information, and promulgated the most groundless abuse." Mr. Whitbread, in reply to what had fallen from Mr. Wellesley Pole, paid a high tribute to the character of the Duke of Wellington, declaring that he considered it as part of the property of the country. But he asked, was it because the Duke of Wellington had signed the Declaration, that it bore a different construction from what it would have done, if he had not put his name to it. If the Duke of Wellington had considered the meaning of the Declaration with sufficient atten-

tion, he would have conceived the Duke to feel in this way—save Buonaparte for me, that he may command an army against me. After having vanquished all his captains in succession—all his fame—all his glory—all his future renown, were centered in the life of Buonaparte. But he had signed the Declaration and it had gone forth to the world. What did existence mean, but physical existence? He was glad of the explanation of the Right Hon. Gentleman, because if his voice had reached the Duke, it might also go out to the world, that the Duke of Wellington declared that the principle of assassination was detested by him, and had never met with his approbation. A majority of two hundred and one appeared against Mr. Whitbread's motion, and by this the temper of the House was manifested with respect to the question of peace or war.

The Prince Regent having laid before Parliament his treaties with the Allies for acting against the common enemy, the important subject was more closely investigated in both Houses, when some of the most distinguished members of the Opposition voted with the Ministers. The arguments of those who deprecated immediate hostilities, were grounded chiefly on their inexpediency. They may be said to have been summed up in an eloquent and ingenious speech delivered by Earl Grey in the House of Lords. His Lordship observed that a war must be necessary as well as just,

and that he did not think the violation of the Treaty of Paris was attended with such immediate danger to Europe as to call for the last remedy of Kings, not did he think the personal character of Buonaparte sufficient to vindicate our interference with the right which France had to chuse her own government. He hesitated to say that Buonaparte had violated without provocation the Treaty of Fontainbleau. In that of Paris, Buonaparte's abdication was not specifically referred to, it being only stated, that certain advantageous conditions were granted to France, in consequence of the restoration of the Bourbons. The only consequence then of the breach of this Treaty, was to give the Allies authority and title to demand from France those additional securities, which they would have had a right to exact had the Bourbons never been restored. His Lordship considered the character of the war, as given in the Declaration of the Allies, - which seemed to unsheath the private as well as the public sword, against the enemy, as contrary to the law of humanity and nations. He disputed the prudence of putting it on a footing so personal as to declare, that they would have neither peace or truce with a man so powerful as Bonaparte. Success was uncertain; and after such a declaration the consequences of a defeat must necessarily be extremely humiliating. He denied that there was any thing in the present state of France, or in the circumstances of the

other states of Europe to encourage an immediate resort to arms. He reminded the House, how often it had been deceived, during the Revolutionary War, by the hope of disturbances in France. It was clear that the present government of that country had no distrust of the population, for they were calling out to arms all the males between the ages of twenty and sixty, which would produce three thousand battalions of seven hundred men each. It would be impossible to overcome the resistance of a nation, whose military energies were brought into complete action by measures so vigorous. He considered the relative situation of the two parties very different from what it was at the capture of Paris. France was then attacked on all sides by the Allies with more than double the number of troops that could possibly be opposed to them. How different was the case at present : in a short time Bonaparte would be at the head of an available force, (exclusive of garrisons and national guards,) of 300,000 men. In his Lordship's opinion, we had to expect little assistance from the Allies, except the three great powers, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, who were to receive a subsidy of five millions from England ; and they had enough to do, to keep down Saxony, Italy, and Poland. And with respect to the British army he asked,—Is it now what it then was ? Is the Duke of Wellington any longer at the head of those invincible legions who

have gained such immortal honour to their country? No. That army had been sent on most destructive and ill-conducted expeditions, and the Duke of Wellington was not able at present to produce above twenty or thirty thousand troops of a very different description indeed, though animated by the same British spirit. With regard to the character of Bonaparte, Earl Grey declared that he detested his ambition, and he would do as much as any man to resist him if necessary. But his Lordship asked, was a change in his character impossible? Had not history informed us of men as deeply polluted with crime as Bonaparte who had at last retired even to a private life. He agreed that it would be puerile to place any confidence in his future moderation. But if there was no change in his disposition, might there not be a change in his policy? Had he not, during his year of exile, had ample opportunity of reflecting on his former errors, and perceiving the necessity of abandoning a system which had already cost him too dear? But his Lordship placed his chief reliance on the party with whom he had allied himself—Carnot and others, who had given undoubted proofs of their attachment to well-regulated freedom, and who would form a counterpoise to Bonaparte's ambitious schemes, unless we should, by a declaration of war, oblige them to unite, and place in the hands of one so well qualified to wield them, the immense military energies of that mighty empire.

The same line of argument was adopted in the Commons by Sir Francis Burdett and others, but Ministers supported the justice and expediency of the war on grounds which it was difficult to controvert. The justice of the war they rested on Bonaparte's violation of the treaty of Fontainbleau, in defiance of which he now re-assumed the crown which he then abdicated. Even admitting (which was, however, denied,) that there had been on the part of France, some partial infringement of the treaty towards Bonaparte, still on no principle of political morality, was he thereby justified in breaking his faith to the Allies, who were not even alleged to be parties to the pretended violation, and who ought to have been formally applied to for redress before Bonaparte made those trivial acts of infringement an apology for a breach of the treaty on his part. But the truth was that no such violation was complained of in any of Bonaparte's earlier proclamations; and he had no such justification in view when he left Elba. He had deliberately determined on the violation of the treaty of Fontainbleau, and had committed that violation, not in any minor or comparatively unimportant provision, but radically in its spirit and principle, without having to allege any defalcation on the part of the Allies. The latter, before entering Paris, had declared their resolution not to treat with Bonaparte. When they occupied that city, they announced that his *decheance*, or forfei-

ture, was proclaimed to be the fundamental condition of peace with France, and in the treaties concluded on that occasion, it was expressly so named. On the recognition of this forfeiture in the treaty of Paris, the Allies granted much better conditions to France, than would otherwise have been conceded. From that of Fontainebleau, Bonaparte himself had taken life, liberty, and the sovereignty of Elba, with many other advantages.— Both France and Bonaparte were, therefore, guilty of a breach of treaty, which rendered the justice of the war indubitable. The arguments for its expediency were chiefly founded on the character of Bonaparte. To exhibit this, a view was taken of his whole career of insatiable ambition, combined with his utter recklessness as to the means of gratifying it. By the treaty of Luneville he extended the French territory to the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Rhine, and the Ocean, recognized the Cisalpine, the Ligurian, the Batavian, and the Helvetic Republics, and in a few subsequent years, he either actually incorporated these States with France, or rendered them dependant on her power, for neither friendly adherence nor servile submission could conciliate his fidelity, or satiate his ambition; of this his treachery towards the Royal Family of Spain was a glaring proof. Such was the character of Bonaparte before his abdication; but even if exile had tamed his thirst for war, or improved his moral feeling, the circumstances under which he

resumed the throne, would hardly allow him to remain at peace. He had been replaced on the throne by those who desired a military government. He notoriously derived his authority from the sword—from that, in fact, by which he would endeavour to maintain that authority, and to secure the support of which, he would be obviously called upon to indulge in views of conquest and ambition. War was, therefore, a measure not only of expedience, but absolute necessity, and it was better to face its dangers now, when the troops of the Allies were ready for the field, and their courts united in their counsels, rather than at a more distant period, when they might be found disarmed and disunited.

The arguments of Ministers were ably supported by some distinguished Members of the Opposition. Lord Grenville, with great ability, explained the grounds by which one nation is not only justified, but peremptorily called upon to interfere with the internal government of another. Every body, said his Lordship, must agree in the abstract principle, that no government had a right to interfere with another. This, like the rights of men, in a state of nature, was unquestionable ; and if any State could be found in a state of nature, the rights of a State so separated from the other States would be undeniable : but it was with societies as with individuals, with governments as with men—when they stand in any relation to each other, they must be con-

tented to see their rights regulated with a view to the mutual rights of all. The rights of others in relation to that state were as sacred as the rights of that state itself. His Lordship applied this principle to the present case, by shewing there was no country which had not tried the effect of a treaty with Bonaparte, and which had not experienced that, in restraining his power, or diminishing his aggressions, treaties were of no avail whatever. His government, therefore, which was originally a military usurpation, had it been the most legitimate in the world, would by the misconduct of the Sovereign, have forfeited its title to its King, and have produced the extreme case of the necessity of driving from the throne, the person who had so abused his authority. If France possessed the right of choosing her own government, and had, after so many years of war, by which she had been so great a sufferer, made some sacrifices for the advantage of the restoration of tranquillity, her own limitation of that right could not be doubted; and so the bargain was made at Paris. In civil transactions some competent tribunal or jurisdiction was referred to, which prescribed certain forms as necessary to be attended to for the regulation of a contract, which he who did not act upon, neglected at his peril. But in affairs between nations, there was no common authority or tribunal to refer to, or which had authority to prescribe; and all that could be required was, to im-

pose on both parties the duty of performing what they undertook. The intention to perform the contract must be made known to all parties, and this was the case respecting the exclusion of Bonaparte and his family from the French throne. The question, therefore, was not on the abstract right of interfering in the choice of a government for France, but on the right of enforcing a solemn treaty. It mattered not what was the case of right, if it was allowed, as no man denied, that France had a right to conclude lawfully the treaty: that gave the Allies the right of enforcing it. The treaty was made, and it would not be lawful for France to break it. It was founded on certain stipulations; but France breaks it, and retracts from part of the bargain. Her obligation was the exclusion of Bonaparte's dynasty. The moment that violation was committed, a just cause of war ensued.

In the House of Commons, the Right Hon. Mr. Grattan pointed out the expediency of prompt and vigorous hostilities with great acuteness and eloquence. Gentlemen, said he, presume, that the French nation will rise in favour of Bonaparte as soon as we enter their country. We entered their country before, and they did not rise in his favour; on the contrary they deposed him. It is said, we endeavour to impose a government on France.—The French armies elect a conqueror for Europe, and our resistance is called imposing a government

on France. If we put down this chief, we relieve France as well as Europe from a foreign yoke; and this deliverance is called the imposition of a government on France. He—he! imposed a government on France—he imposed a foreign yoke on France—he took from the French their property by contribution—he took their children by conscription—he lost her her empire—and (a thing almost unimaginable) he brought the enemy to the gates of Paris! We, on the contrary, formed a project which preserved the integrity of the French empire. The Allies in 1814, not only preserved the integrity of the empire as it stood in 1792, but gave her her liberty, and they now afford her the only chance of redemption. Against these Allies will France now combine, and having received from them her empire as it stood before the war, with additions in consequence of their deposition of Bonaparte, and having gotten back her capital, her colonies, and her prisoners, will she break the treaty to which she owes them, rise up against the Allies who gave them, break her oath of allegiance, destroy the constitution she has formed, depose the King she has chosen, rise up against her own deliverance in support of contribution and conscription, to perpetuate her political damnation under the yoke of a stranger? He ridiculed alike the idea of Bonaparte being the chosen governor of the people, and that of his alleged purpose to give them a free constitution. His assumption of the

throne was in all respects a military usurpation. Nothing could equal the shouts of the army except the silence of the people; this was in the strictest sense of the words, a military election. It was an act where the army deposed the civil government—it was the march of a military chief over a conquered people. The nation did not rise to resist Bonaparte or defend Louis, because the nation could not rise upon the army. Her mind, as well as her constitution was conquered; in fact, there was no nation—every thing was army, and every thing was conquest. Bonaparte, it seems, is to reconcile every thing by the gift of a free constitution—he took possession of Holland, he did not give her a free constitution—he took possession of Italy, of Switzerland, and of Spain; he did not give them free constitutions—he took possession of France; he did not give her a free constitution. On the contrary, he destroyed the directorial constitution—he destroyed the consular constitution—and he destroyed the late constitution, formed on the plan of England. But now he is, *with the assistance of the Jacobins*, to give her liberty; that is, the man who can bear no freedom, unites to form a constitution with a body who can bear no government. In the meantime, while he proposes liberty, he exercises despotic power—he annihilates the nobles—he banishes the deputies of the people—and he sequesters the property of the emigrants;—now he is to give liberty! I have

seen. his Constitution, as exhibited in the newspapers—there are faults innumerable in the frame of it, and more in the manner of accepting it. It is to be passed by subscription without discussion; the troops are to send deputies, and the army is to preside. There is some cunning, however, in making the subscribers to the Constitution renounce the house of Bourbon. They are to give their word for the deposition of the King, and take Napoleon's word for their liberty. The offer imports nothing that can be relied on, except that he is afraid of the Allies. Disperse the Alliance, and farewell to the liberty of France, and the safety of Europe. Mr. Grattan now drew a forcible contrast between the Bourbon dynasty and that of Bonaparte. Under the former, all subjects except the administration, had been open to free discussion; so that learning, arts, and sciences, had made rapid progress, and England had borrowed not a little from the temperate meridian of that government. Her court stood controlled by opinion, limited by principles of honor, and softened by the influence of manners; and on the whole, there was an amenity in the condition of France, which rendered the French an amiable, an enlightened, a gallant, and an accomplished race: over this gallant race you see imposed an oriental despotism; their present court has gotten the idiom of the East, as well as her constitution; a fantastic and barbaric expression; an unreality,

which leaves in the shade the modesty of truth, and states nothing as it is, and every thing as it is not: the attitude is affected, the taste is corrupted, and the intellect perverted. Do you wish to confirm this military tyranny in the heart of Europe?—a tyranny founded on the triumph of the army over the principles of civil government—an experiment to relax the moral and religious influences, and to set heaven and earth adrift from one another—an insurrectionary hope to every bad man in the community, and a frightful lesson of profit and power, vested in those who have pandered their allegiance from King to Emperor, and now found their pretensions to domination, on the merit of breaking their oaths, and deposing their Sovereign. Should you do any thing so monstrous as to leave your Allies, in order to confirm such a system,—should you forget your name,—forget your ancestors, and the inheritance they have left you of morality and renown,—should you astonish Europe by quitting your Allies, to render immortal such a composition; would not the nations exclaim, “ You have very providently watched over our interests, and very generously have you contributed to our service, and do you falter now? In vain have you stopped in your own person the flying fortunes of Europe,—in vain have you taken the eagle of Napoleon, and snatched invincibility from his standard, if now, when confederated Europe is ready to march, you

take the lead in the desertion, and preach the penitence of Bonaparte, and the poverty of England. As to her poverty, you must not consider the money you spend in your defence, but the fortune you would lose if you were not defended; and further, you must recollect that you will pay less to an immediate war, than to peace with a war establishment, and a war to follow it: recollect further, that whatever be your resources, they must out-last those of all your enemies; and further, that your Empire cannot be saved by a calculation: besides, your wealth is only part of your situation; the name you have established, the deeds you have achieved, and the part you have sustained, preclude you from a second place among nations; and when you cease to be the first, you are nothing."

Mr. Plunkett urged the necessity of immediate war, with similar force and brilliancy of reasoning. "When," said the Right Hon. Member, "we saw the situation in which Bonaparte now stood; when we saw him reduced to make professions contrary to his very nature; when we saw the vessel in which his fortunes were embarked, labouring with the storm, and its mast bowed down to the water's edge, it would be the height of impolicy and absurdity to hesitate on the course that we had to pursue. We had now a most powerful combination of Allies, acting from the moral feeling which pervaded all Europe. If we were foolish enough

to throw away those means, we could never hope to recall them. It was vain to expect that a more favourable opportunity would ever arrive. All the great Powers of Europe were now with us, and a considerable portion of the population of France. It had been said, that invading France would be the way to unite the population of that country. The fact, however, was directly the reverse. The not invading France would be the sure means of reducing the whole population under the power of the present ruler. We had in fact no option but between peace and war. As for peace, we could have no more than feverish, unrefreshing dreams of peace, still haunted by the spectre of war. In point of finances, we should find a peace with a war establishment, an evil much greater than war itself. If we did not now go to war, in conjunction with all the great Powers of Europe, we would soon be reduced to a war single-handed, against France. If we did not now invade France, and carry on the war upon her territories, the time might arrive when our country would become the seat of war, and we would fall, unpitied and despised.

The arguments for immediate hostilities were approved by a great majority of both Houses, amounting in the Lords to 156 to 44, and in the Commons to 331 to 92. On the 30th of May, Ministers announced to Parliament the manner in which the treaties entered into at Vienna were to

be carried into effect. Austria engaged to bring 300,000 men into the field; Russia 225,000; Prussia 236,000; the German States, 150,000; Great Britain 50,000; Holland 50,000; making together the immense number of one million and eleven thousand men. Parliament granted two millions and a half, in lieu of the full contingent of Great Britain; a similar sum to be applied in aid of the confederacy in the most suitable manner, and one million for repairing the fortifications of Holland. A loan of thirty-six millions was negotiated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and with the assistance of the Treasury of England, the immense force of the Allies was quickly put in motion.

CHAPTER XLV.

Murat commences Hostilities in Italy.—He takes possession of Rome, defeats the Austrian General Bianchi, and overruns Modena and Tuscany.—He is defeated by General Frimont, and forced to abandon his Conquests—Battle of Tolentino, and total Rout of Murat's Army.—The Neapolitans declare for Ferdinand.—Murat escapes to France.—Queen Caroline puts herself under the protection of Commodore Campbell.—Restoration of Ferdinand.—Preparations for War in France.—Distracted State of the Departments.—Proclamation of Louis XVIII.—Singular instance of Attachment to his Person.—Fouché's Report.—The Additional Act.—Mode of collecting the Votes.—*Jeu d'Esprit*.—Arrival of Lucien Buonaparte.—Critical situation of Napoleon,—Review of the Federates.—The Champ-de-Mai.—Meeting of the Legislative Body.—Independent spirit manifested by the Chamber of Representatives.—Insurrection in La Vendée.—Napoleon makes vigorous preparations for War.—State of the French Army.

WHILE Great Britain and her Allies were preparing again to take the field to re-assert the independence of Europe, and by a vigorous effort to crush the hopes of the enemies of peace, Joachim Murat, the reigning sovereign of Naples, commenced hostilities on the Austrian and Papal States, under the pretext of securing the independence of Italy. Though the brother-in-law and puppet of Napoleon, he forsook his falling fortunes in 1814; and this opportune defection, notwithstanding his

former political crimes in France and Spain, might have confirmed to him the throne of Naples, had his good faith and prudence kept pace with his valour. Conscious, however, that his conduct upon this occasion was considered by the Allies to have proceeded rather from necessity than attachment to their cause, he appears to have formed the resolution of governing his proceedings by the progress of events, and he kept up an active correspondence with Napoleon during his residence in Elba. Some efforts of Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna to procure his deposition, confirmed the apprehensions of Murat, and led him to perceive that his fortunes were still closely linked with those of the man to whom he owed his exaltation.

Since the restoration of the Bourbons, the court of Murat had become the residence of many revolutionists both of France and Italy, who industriously kept alive the ancient aversion to the Austrian government in the Milanese and the other Italian dominions of the Emperor, and in some places it broke forth into open violence. These events probably excited in the weak, but ambitious mind of Joachim, the vain hope of becoming master of all Italy. He commenced his operations, by demanding permission from Austria, to march 80,000 men through her Italian dominions, to repel an attack from a French army, which he pretended was advancing to dispossess him of his kingdom. This singular proposition produced no other

effect than to alarm Austria, and cause her to reinforce her Italian army. Murat, however, made no hostile movement till he received intelligence of Napoleon's triumphal entry into Lyons: then quitting his capital, he put himself at the head of his army, and when Pius VII. refused to grant him permission to march through the papal states, he penetrated to Rome, and occupied that capital, which was immediately abandoned by the Holy Father, the old King and Queen of Spain, the Foreign Ambassadors, and the members of the Sacred College.—Having established his head-quarters at Ancona, he threatened with four divisions, the whole line of the Po, while a fifth entered Tuscany by the defiles of the Appenines; and on the 30th of March, Murat commenced hostilities on the Austrians by driving their garrisons from Cesena and Rimini. He now published a proclamation, in which he called on the Italians to assert their independence, and promised them a constitution worthy of themselves and of the age. This proclamation was signed Joachim Napoleon, Murat having re-assumed the latter name, which he had for some time laid aside.

Success seemed to smile on the first operations of Murat. General Bianchi who commanded an Austrian corps of ten thousand men, was driven from the banks of the Pannaro after a desperate resistance, and by this victory the Neapolitans became masters of Modena and the whole of Tuscany, while General Nugent found it necessary to

fall back in order to occupy the passes of the Apennines, and unite with the British in defence of Genoa. Austria is said at this period, to have offered to guarantee the crown of Naples to Murat and his heirs ; but the latter, flushed with his first success, rejected the proposal, frequently repeating as he read the Austrian despatches, " It is too late—Italy desires freedom, and she shall be free."

The most energetic measures were now adopted by Austria, while Great Britain prepared an armament to attack the Neapolitan territories. In the mean time Murat made a formidable attempt to force the passage of the Po, in order to stir up insurrection in Lombardy and the Venetian States. But his plan was defeated by the skill and valour of General Frimont, and he was obliged not only to renounce his project, but to abandon all his conquests in Parma, Modena, and Tuscany. The road to Rome was now opened to the Austrians, while the flank and rear of the enemy were completely exposed to their hostile manœuvres. But Murat, instead of expediting his retreat, lingered in the Roman territories till arrangements were made for the total destruction of his army. While General Niepperg engaged his attention in the north-east of Italy, Bianchi proceeded by forced marches to Foligno, to intercept his retreat to Naples, and General Nugent advanced from Florence to recover possession of Rome. At length becoming sensible of the perils of his situation,

he solicited an armistice from General Niepperg, which was rejected, and hearing of the advance of Bianchi in his rear, he was compelled to retreat so precipitately, that several thousands of his troops were left behind. Pressed now in front and rear, he resolved on giving battle to Bianchi, while a strong rear-guard kept Niepperg in check. He found the former on the 2d of May, strongly posted near Tolentino, and an attack which he made upon him in all the fury of despair, was repelled with considerable loss. He renewed the engagement on the following day, but all the efforts to which his army was stimulated by the example of his own desperate valour, proved fruitless, and he was compelled to quit the field in total rout, his troops flying in various directions. In this disastrous retreat he lost more than half his army, besides guns, ammunition, baggage, and treasure to a great amount. Bianchi on entering Aquila, called on the inhabitants to assume the red cockade, and return to the allegiance of their lawful monarch Ferdinand: this command was instantly complied with, and soon followed by the greater part of his kingdom. Thus defeated and abandoned, Murat hastened to Naples, which he entered about sunset, attended by a small escort, and arriving at the palace, his first salutation to the Queen was in the language of desperation, "*Madam, I have been unable to find death.*" In a few days after, he escaped to the little island of Ischia, from

whence he embarked for France, and landed on the 25th of May at Cannes, the same spot which had received Napoleon a few weeks before.

In the mean time Commodore Campbell, with the *Tremendous* of 74 guns and two frigates, proceeded to blockade Naples on the sea side, while the Austrians under Bianchi invested it by land. The *Melpomene* French frigate which attempted to escape, was taken by the *Rivoli*, after a short action, and the Commodore entered the bay, just in time to rescue Caroline Bonaparte, the late Queen of Naples, from the fury of the rabble, who, with shouts of "Death to the French and their faction!" were proceeding to attack the citadel in which she had taken refuge. Naples surrendered a few days after to the Austrians, and Ferdinand was restored to his kingdom from which he had been absent nine years. By virtue of a treaty with Lord Exmouth, Caroline Bonaparte, after surrendering the crown jewels, was sent with her family to Trieste, and from thence to Prague, there to reside under the name of the Countess Lipona.

Napoleon received the intelligence of the ruin of his last ally with affected indifference. He would not permit him to come to Paris, fearing, probably, that the recollection of his disgrace would damp the exertions of his own partisans; but he advised him to remain in seclusion until it should be obliterated by happier events. Napoleon was

at this time actively engaged in preparations to stem the tide of war which was again approaching France. A proclamation invited all who had been accustomed to war to join once more the standard of their Emperor, while a new levy of two millions of men was resolved upon, to be effected by calling out all between the ages of sixteen and sixty, throughout the whole kingdom. The most formidable fortifications were at the same time planned for the defence of Paris; and parties of national guards and federates were constantly employed in forming batteries and intrenchments on the heights of Montmartre, Chaumont, and Mesnil-Montant. An address of Marshal Davoust called on the inhabitants of France to present every obstacle to the progress of the enemy, by repairing the gates and walls of the fortified towns, defending the bridges, and cutting off convoys and detachments. Commissioners, including Jean de Bry, David, Dumoulard, Chaudien, Lécointre-Puiravault, Lamarque, and Moreau, old Jacobins, were despatched to excite, if possible, a military spirit in the departments, similar to that of the early days of the Revolution, by planting trees of liberty, establishing committees to carry the measures of government into effect, and forming corps of federates to intimidate the national guards. But it soon became evident that the revolutionary *mania* had subsided, and that the people dreaded more the return of anarchy, than the presence of

a foreign enemy. In many of the southern provinces the people seemed disposed once more to take up arms in favor of the Bourbons, while in the northern departments and Brittany, a sullen indifference pervaded the great mass of the inhabitants. In those of Garde, Maine and Loire, the Lower Loire, and La Vendée, bands of royalists, or armed bodies of refractory recruits, traversed the country; and in several departments the tri-coloured flag was cut down, the tree of liberty destroyed, and committees of royalists were formed, which kept up a regular correspondence with Ghent. The spirit of royalism was kept alive in these provinces by frequent proclamations issued by Louis XVIII. in one of which, dated the 12th of April, he expressed his confidence of being soon again in the midst of his people. Europe, said he, faithful to treaties, and determined to know no other King of France but himself, was about to march twelve hundred thousand men to assure the deliverance of their fine country and its own repose, and to defeat the projects of a man, who seemed determined to drag the nation along with him into the abyss, as if to accomplish his frightful prophecy in 1814—"If I fall, it shall be known how much the overthrow of a great man costs." Fully convinced, in spite of all the tricks of a policy reduced to its last extremity, that the French nation had not made itself an accomplice in the attempts of the army, and

that the small number of Frenchmen who had been led astray, must soon be sensible of their error, Louis assured them, that the other powers of Europe regarded France as an ally, and that wherever they should find the French people faithful, the fields would be respected, the labourer protected, and the poor succoured, and the weight of the war would be reserved to fall upon those provinces, who, at their approach, should refuse to return to their duty.*

A report which Fouché presented to Napoleon, made a strong representation of the disaffection which reigned in the departments, and called for severe penalties to repress its progress. But the

* A circumstance occurred a few days after the publication of this proclamation, which proved that the Bourbons still possessed, considerable influence in the French capital. In commemoration of his entry into Paris, on May 3d, 1814, and the warm attachment which the national guard expressed for his person, Louis had declared that on the anniversary of that day he would commit himself to their protection, and they alone should do the duty of the palace. When the day approached, thirty young men of respectable families, and belonging to the Parisian national guard, secretly left the French capital, and effected their escape to Ghent, and on the morning of the 3d, they unexpectedly appeared before their colonel, the Count D'Artois, and demanded their privilege. When presented to the King he received them with great emotion, and gratified them by consenting to their request. His household troops were dismissed for the day, and the good monarch, though in exile, once more had the delight to see himself surrounded and protected by the faithful guards of his good city of Paris.—*Boyce*.

subsequent conduct of that statesman, affords reason to doubt his sincerity upon this occasion ; for while the memorial told Bonaparte of his danger, it at the same time acquainted the royalists with their strength and prospects of ultimate success. It taught Napoleon, however, that he had little to expect from the exertions of his Jacobinical friends, and that he must still confide chiefly in his own resources. Under this impression he suddenly retired from the palace of the Thuilleries, where he had been under the necessity of making daily condescensions to the mob, and took up his residence in the Elysée Bourbon ; and here, in a state of comparative independence, surrounded by his military adherents and some select members of the Cabinet, he made arrangements for his future proceedings.

He found himself in the first instance under the necessity of redeeming the pledge which he had made on his return from Elba, of giving to the nation a constitution which should secure their liberties: a commission which included the distinguished names of Bishop Gregoire and Benjamin Constant, was appointed by himself, and on the 22d of April it was presented to the nation under the singular title of "An Additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire." Two anomalies have been justly noticed in this important document ; first, that by its designation Napoleon seemed to sanction his previous mass of organic laws, many of which were contrary to each

other, and few of them congenial with the spirit of a free government. 2dly, It was made to flow from the pure grace and favour of the Emperor, although a principal objection to the Constitution of Louis XVIII. was that it appeared in the shape of a royal charter, instead of a national compact.

The "Additional Act" scarcely differed from the Royal Charter in any thing except the abolition of the Censorship of the Press, and the exclusion of the Bourbons from the throne, even in case of the extinction of the Imperial dynasty. It gave much dissatisfaction both to the Constitutionalists and Republicans : to the first, because it left Bonaparte's former mass of contradictory laws unrepealed ; and to the latter, because it admitted an upper house, which the Emperor could fill with his own minions, so as effectually to controul the representatives of the people ; it therefore became the subject of attack and raillery on all sides. Many were highly indignant that Napoleon had not recognized his abdication, and left the choice of the dynasty as well as the form of the government to the free will of the people ; as it afforded the strongest presumption, that he only waited till victory should again smile upon his standard to re-assume all his dictatorial habits.*

* In an official note presented to the Ministers of the Allies on the 8th of August, 1815, Fouché asserts " that public expectation was deceived to such a point, that a cry of indignation was heard from one end of France to the other ;" and he regrets that at that moment decisive negotiations were not opened with the King as well as with the Allied Powers.

The following were the principal features of Napoleon's Charter. It instituted two assemblies, which, like the British Parliament, were to exercise the legislative power in concert with the Sovereign. The Emperor possessed the right of nomination to the Chamber of Peers, and this dignity was hereditary; while the people were permitted to chuse their representatives, 629 in number, every fifth year. The Sovereign had the power of proroguing or dissolving the Legislature. No member of either Chamber could be prosecuted during a session for any offence, unless the Chamber to which he belonged should countenance the accusation. No taxes were to be raised, no loans contracted, nor any military levies, without an express law decided upon by the Chamber of Deputies. These legislative regulations seem to have been copied from the British Constitution; but the members had not, as in this country, the privilege of introducing a new law, the origin of which could emanate only from the Sovereign. The Chambers might indeed reject it, and if they desired the introduction of a particular law, they might request him to bring it forward: but neither was he bound to agree with their request. Hence the freedom of legislation was evidently checked, as it would be more ungracious and impolitic in the Sovereign to reject a law which had received the solemn sanction of the Chambers, than to refuse a request for a primary discussion. The

Ministers of the Crown were to be responsible for the acts of the government: Judges were irremovable except for flagrant misconduct, and all trials were to be publicly conducted. No individual could be arrested or punished, but according to the prescribed forms of law; but no express provision was made for the security of personal liberty similar to that glorious bulwark of British freedom, the *Habeas Corpus* Act. Finally, religion was to be unfettered, the press free, and the right of petitioning universal.

The sense of the nation on the Additional Act, was ordered to be collected in somewhat the same manner in which it had been done when Napoleon was made Consul and Emperor, the result of which was to be laid before the approaching *Champ-de-Mai*. The registers were placed under the management of trusty agents, and extraordinary means are said to have been resorted to for the purpose of increasing the number of the signatures. Public functionaries, the army and navy, the lowest labourers, and even domestic servants were required to affix their names to the new code. Yet notwithstanding these singular exertions, not quite thirteen hundred thousand of three millions of qualified persons signed in favour of the Additional Act, while four thousand two hundred and seven had the courage to protest against it.* A

* M. de Kergolay had the hardihood to publish his solemn protest against the article which disinherited the Bourbons, not

deputation from each of the Electoral Assemblies was ordered to attend at the *Champ-de-Mai*, where an Assembly of the Peers and Representatives was also appointed, for the purpose of determining the grand result of the votes.

only as an attack upon the liberty of the French people, but because he considered the restoration of that dynasty as the only mode of restoring happiness to the country. The following *jeu d'esprit* was circulated about the same time :—

Vote, with Reasons assigned, inscribed at the Prefecture of the Seine, on May 1st, 1815.

“ I, the undersigned, in virtue of the part of the Sovereignty which was promised to me in 1792, of which I was swindled in 1800, and solemnly robbed by an Organic *Senatus Consultum* in 1814 ; which was restored to me by a proclamation of the 1st of March, 1815 ; which was again taken from me by an Additional Act of the 22d ; and which I shall take back as soon as I am the strongest, if I think it worth the trouble :—

“ I reject the Additional Act to the constitutions, the said constitutions, and all that has followed them, down to this Additional Act, and also all that shall follow it.

“ *Imprimis*, Because Napoleon himself acknowledges that he has no title to govern, except that of a dictatorship imposed by force, and that the right of a conqueror is not that of a legislator. *Item*, Because Buonaparte's liberty is a pleasantry for which I have no relish. *Item*, Because Buonaparte's equality is that of helots and galley slaves. *Item*, Because the peerage of Buonaparte is a saturnal assemblage at which the heart revolts. *Item*, Because the hereditary succession of Buonaparte's peerage, is a gratuitous insult to other nations. *Item*, Because permission to exercise the right of thinking, speaking, and writing, under Buonaparte, can only be a snare. *Item*, Because the vote of the people would be illusory. *Item*, Because the vote of the army will be contradictory to all moral ideas, and hostile to the constituent principles of nations. *Item*, Because the important restriction, (the rejection of the Bourbons,) contained in the 67th article is a

All the brothers of Napoleon had now joined his court, with the exception of the unaspiring Louis, the ex-King of Holland. The return of Lucien afforded a subject of serious conjecture; and was considered by many, as a pledge of Napoleon's sincerity in the cause of liberty. For this opinion some foundation was afforded by the recollection that Lucien's republican principles had caused him to abandon his brother, when shining in Imperial splendor, and that he only returned when it might be supposed that adversity had taught him better principles. At this important crisis of Napoleon's fate, it was believed that the acknowledged talents of Lucien must prove of the utmost importance to him, should he condescend to listen to his counsel: but it soon became apparent that the new Imperial throne would be ephemeral, unless victory shone once more on the standards of its possessor. Every effort for conciliating the other powers of Europe had failed; discontents were increasing in the interior; in many of the departments they had burst forth into

disgustingly awkward precaution, resorted to by a suspicious tyranny, and can be adhered to only by the accomplices of that tyranny. Always recognising, however, that the martial disposition of the nation, and the alternately heroic and laughable part it has performed, during those twenty-five years, on the theatre of Europe, requires it to have a monarch who sits well on his horse—I propose *Franconi* and his DYNASTY.”*

* *Franconi* was the conductor of a Circus at Paris, where feats of horsemanship, &c. were performed.

open insurrection; and in the very capital itself an extensive correspondence with the Bourbons was carried on. Distracted by the conflicting emotions which his situation was calculated to excite, Napoleon at one time proposed the adoption of the most severe measures against emigrants and suspected persons, while at another he appeared to court popularity by acts of the greatest condescension, and exposing his person without suite or escort to the crowds who frequently pressed upon him. To quicken the flame of the anti-Bourbon spirit which, since the first days of the Revolution, had been kept alive in the suburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, fifteen thousand federates were reviewed in the Court of the Thuilleries on the 14th of May. They marched to the Palace in a thousand different garbs, with shouts in honour of the Emperor, and the revolutionary songs, (long silenced in Paris) *La Carmagnole* and the *Marseillois Hymn*. New terrors seized the minds of the peaceable citizens at the appearance of this parti-coloured groupe, among whom were intermingled the refuse of jails and workhouses, the willing instruments of every crime. Nor was Napoleon himself free from alarm: his guards were under arms, and loaded artillery was turned on the *Place de Carousel*, which was filled with the motley crowd, who from the contrasted colour of the corn-porters and charcoal-men, so perceptible in the groupe, were facetiously called his grey and black mous-

quetaires. The harangue of an orator informed Napoleon that the federates had come to tender their arms, their courage, and their blood, for the safety of the capital; and to swear that they would fight in his cause and that of their country. The reply of Napoleon expressed his confidence in the peasants and artisans of France; informed the federates that he was about to proceed to the frontiers, to manœuvre the army, and to defend the French territory, if the Kings should dare to attack it; and he told them that the honor of France, the rights of the people, and his throne, were under their keeping, and under that of the people of the country and the villages.

The national guard and troops of the line, who were present on this occasion, felt considerable jealousy at the confidence thus reposed by Napoleon in the very dregs of the people; and some of the soldiers were heard thus loudly to express their indignation. "Behold," said they, "the masters of our master! What disgraceful humiliation! Where is the great Napoleon? We no longer recognize the conqueror of Europe—the Emperor, whose court was composed of the Kings of Spain and Naples, of Saxony and Bavaria, of Wurtemberg and Westphalia. We see only the Emperor of the *Canaille*." The friends of rational liberty viewed the scene with emotions of a different description, when they beheld in this assemblage the men, or their immediate descendants, who had

attempted to murder the unfortunate Louis XVI. in this very Palace, and had caused the streets of the metropolis to flow with human blood. They justly thought that the Imperial throne must be tottering to its foundations, when it could only be supported by stirring up the passions of such desperate instruments.

The circumstances of Napoleon were at this time truly critical. Europe resounded with the din of arms, and hostile forces were advancing to the French frontier on every side. The army required the presence of their renowned leader, but he dared not to quit the capital until the Additional Act was accepted by the Assembly of the Champ de Mai. By a singular incongruity, the 1st of June was appointed for this, the last grand spectacle with which Napoleon was destined to amuse the Parisian populace. The scene of this exhibition was a large amphitheatre in front of the Hotel des Invalids, indifferently called the Champ de Mars and the Champ de Mai, which has been minutely described in our first volume as the spot where Louis XVI. in 1790, accepted the Constitution laid down by the Constituent Assembly, amidst the plaudits of an apparently loyal and united people. Now, after a lapse of more than twenty years, Napoleon Bonaparte presented in the same place a Constitution of his own formation, which was for ever to exclude the family of Louis from the throne of France. Vast prepa-

rations were made to render this ceremony dignified and imposing. In front of the Military School, was erected a throne for the Emperor, opposite to this was an extensive semi-circular area or rotunda, with seats for about eighteen thousand persons, and in the centre stood an altar. The rotunda was decorated with the banners of the eighty-seven departments, mingled with the national colours and imperial eagles, surrounded by the emblems of peace.

Napoleon left the Thuilleries amid the firing of artillery, escorted by a large body of cavalry; and his approach was greeted by the most enthusiastic acclamations. He appeared on the throne, surrounded by his brothers, all clad in Roman tunics, and involved in the folds of long mantles; Napoleon's being purple, and those of his brothers white. The great officers of state and generals were arranged behind, or on either side, while three hundred thousand spectators occupied this immense field, or surrounded the enclosure. After mass was celebrated by the Archbishop of Tours, the central deputation of the Electoral Colleges advanced to the foot of the throne, and addressed the Emperor in a speech expressive of the loyalty and attachment of the nation. He called upon Napoleon to re-assume the crown which the French people had decreed to him, and which he had resigned without their consent. He demanded by what act France had afforded a pretext for

the aggression of the Allied Kings, who had dared personally to proscribe the man who had so often been master of their capitals, and had generously confirmed them on their tottering thrones. "Do they ask guarantees?" said the orator; "they are in all our institutions. Do they dread to recall other times? Let them beware how they reproduce them. It would not be the first time that we have conquered all Europe in arms against us."—He assured the Emperor that he might expect from France all that an heroic leader had a right to expect from a nation faithful, energetic, generous, unshaken in its principles, invariable in the objects of its efforts—independence of foreign powers, and liberty at home. "If," said he, "the foreign powers leave us only the choice between war and disgrace, the entire nation will rise up for war. Every Frenchman is a soldier. Victory will follow our eagles; and our enemies, who reckoned on divisions among us, will soon regret having provoked us."

A universal shout of "the Nation for ever! the Emperor for ever!" now burst from every quarter of this vast assemblage. The result of the votes being declared, the Arch-Chancellor said, "In the name of the Emperor I declare that the Additional Act to the constitutions of the empire has been accepted by the French people." The Imperial Charter was then completed by the signature of Napoleon, who immediately after,

uncovering himself for a moment, addressed the Assembly as follows :—

“Gentlemen, Electors of Colleges, of Departments, and Arrondissements !—

“Gentlemen, Deputies from the Army and Navy, to the Champ de Mai !—

Emperor, Consul, Soldier ! I hold every thing from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the rule and constant object of my thoughts and actions.

Like the king of Athens, I sacrificed myself for my people, in the hope of witnessing the realization of the promise given to guarantee to France, her national integrity, her honours, and her rights.

Indignation on beholding those sacred rights, acquired by twenty-five years of victory, slighted and lost for ever ; the cry of insulted French honour, and the wishes of the nation, have brought me back to that throne which is dear to me, because it is the palladium of the independence, of the honour, and the rights of the people.

Frenchmen ! in my progress amidst the public joy, through the different provinces of the empire to my capital, I had great reason to reckon upon a long peace. Nations are bound by the treaties concluded by their governments, whatever they may be.

My thoughts were then wholly engaged with the means of founding our liberty on a constitution conformable to the wishes and interests of the people. I convoked the Champ de Mai.

I was soon apprised that the Princes who have violated all principles, who have shocked the public opinion, and the dearest interests of so many nations, design to make war upon us. They meditate the increase of the kingdom of the Netherlands ; they would give it for barriers all our northern frontier fortresses, and would make up the quarrels which still divide them, by sharing amongst themselves Lorraine and Alsace.

It was necessary to prepare for war,

However ; before personally exposing myself to the risks of battles, my first care was to give without delay, a constitution to

the nation. The people has accepted the Act which I presented to it.

Frenchmen ! when we shall have repelled these unjust aggressions, and Europe shall be convinced of what is due to the rights and the independence of twenty eight millions of Frenchmen, a solemn law, enacted according to the forms prescribed by the Constitutional Act, shall combine the different provisions of our constitutions that are now scattered.

Frenchmen ! you are about to return into your departments. Tell the citizens that circumstances are momentous !—that with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall come off victorious from the struggle of a great people against its oppressors ; that future generations will severely scrutinize our conduct ; and that a nation has lost all, when it has lost its independence. Tell them, that the foreign kings, whom I either raised to the throne, or who are indebted to me for their crowns ; who all in the time of my prosperity, courted my alliance and the protection of the French people, are now aiming their blows at my person. If I did not see that it is against the country that they are really directed, I would place at their mercy this life, against which they manifest such animosity. But tell the citizens also, that while the French shall retain for me the sentiments of love of which they give me so many proofs, this rage of our enemies will be impotent.

Frenchmen ! my will is that of the people ; my rights are their rights ; my honour, my glory, my happiness, can never be distinct from the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France.

This harangue was succeeded by long continued acclamations, after which Napoleon took the oath to observe the Constitutions, and cause them to be observed ; and the Arch Chancellor pronounced the oath of obedience to the Constitution, and fidelity to the Emperor, to which the whole assembly as with one voice, added, “ We swear it.” *Te Deum* was then sung, and the scene was suddenly

changed into a military spectacle. Napoleon, laying aside the Imperial mantle, advanced to the first step of the throne, and called on the national guards, with the sea and land forces, to receive the Imperial eagle and national colours, and swear to defend them at the expense of their blood. The air was again rent with shouts of "We swear it;" and in the midst of these acclamations, and surrounded by the eagles which seemed one brilliant circle of gold, Napoleon advanced quickly to another throne in the middle of the amphitheatre which was speedily encompassed by numerous squadrons and battalions. As colonel of the National and Imperial Guards, he presented to each their eagle, and thus addressed them: "Soldiers of the National Guards of Paris! Soldiers of the Imperial Guards! I confide to you the national eagles, the national colours. You swear to perish, if it should be necessary, in defending them against the enemies of the country and the throne. You swear never to acknowledge any other rallying sign!—You swear it." The assent of the troops was signified by a loud acclaim. "You, soldiers of the National Guard of Paris," continued Napoleon, "swear never to suffer foreigners again to pollute the capital of the great nation: (*fresh acclamations.*) And you, soldiers of the Imperial Guards! swear to surpass yourselves in the campaign about to open, and to die rather than suffer foreigners to dictate laws to the country."

Every part of this spectacle was contrived to produce those enthusiastic feelings in the Assembly, to which alone Napoleon had to trust for the preservation of his usurped authority. "The scene," says an English gentleman who was present, "was more magnificent than my pen can describe. The monarch, on his open throne, amidst a glittering pyramid of eagles, and arms, and military decorations, crowned by his own white plumes—an immense plain, as it were, of soldiers, flanked with multitudes so innumerable that the sloping banks on each side presented but one mass of heads—the man—the occasion—all conspired to surprise the mind into a most unqualified, unphilosophical admiration of the whole spectacle ; which was not diminished when the bayonets, cuirasses, and helmets, flashing to the extent of the view, and the flags of the lancers fluttering, and the music bursting from the plain, announced that the whole scene was in motion." The ceremony was concluded by the numerous army, consisting of thirty thousand troops of the line, and twenty thousand national guards, filing before the throne, with their eagles and colours ; after which the Imperial procession returned to the Thuilleries amidst the roaring of cannon, and shouts which seemed to rend the heavens.

Though the enthusiasm at the Champ de Mai, seemed to be universal, yet many returned from the spectacle, filled with melancholy forebodings of the changes which a few short days or weeks

were likely to effect. Some friends to liberty and peace, had previously ventured to hint to Napoleon that he might make the ceremonies of the day a permanent blessing to France, and the foundation of immortal honour to himself. The Allies, they said, had declared war against him alone: their immense armies were pressing towards the frontiers, and against such a preponderating force, the contest must be doubtful. Should he, therefore, before the assembled nation, voluntarily abdicate the power which he had so recently regained, and offer himself a willing sacrifice for the salvation of his country, he would retire into private life, followed by the blessings of the people, and his name would stand enrolled with honour, in the pages of history. But unfortunately for himself and for the thousands who were yet to perish on what may be called the funeral pyre of his ambition, Napoleon rejected these wise counsels, alleging with some show of reason, that the army would be indignant at the hint of such apparent humiliation; that his abdication would be the signal for tumult and civil war; that the Allies were more anxious to disgrace and dismember France, than even for his dethronement; and that his resignation would not for a moment arrest their progress, while it would deprive the army of their favourite leader, and by weakening the means of defence, expose the country to most dreadful calamities.

Napoleon had still to try the temper of the new Legislative Body, before he could venture to join his army. Of the Chamber of Peers he had indeed little to apprehend, as above one hundred of the members were newly nominated by himself, according to the powers reserved to himself by the Additional Act; one half of them were military men, including Ney, Drouet, Vandamme, L'Allemand, and Labedoyere: Carnot, Sieyes, and some other men of letters devoted to the Imperial cause, completed the number of the new dignitaries. But in the Chamber of Representatives the Jacobins and Constitutionals had a decided preponderance. Among the former were to be found Barrere, Gallum, Merlin, Cambon, Thibaudeau, Drouet, and almost all the regicides, who had survived the various changes of the Revolution—among the latter were La Rochefoucauld, Liancour, Dela Tour Maubourg, La Fayette, Lanjuinais, Flaugergues, and Dumolard, names, which notwithstanding some errors, were still entitled to respect. The short intercourse which Napoleon had with the Chamber of Representatives proved that they were suspicious of his authority, and dissatisfied with the new Constitution, which was met by a sullen haughtiness on the part of Napoleon.

The two Chambers assembled on the 3d of June. That of the Representatives speedily manifested an independence not very acceptable to Napoleon, by chusing for their president the intrepid Lan-

juinais, who had advocated the cause of Louis XVI. at his trial, had opposed the first elevation of Napoleon to the Imperial dignity, and in the year 1814 drawn up the *proces-verbal*, which pronounced his dethronement. Napoleon appeared to consider this as an insult, for when the provisional president announced to the Emperor the choice of the Assembly, he was told that he would learn his Majesty's pleasure the next day, by applying to the chamberlain or page in waiting. This message caused a violent commotion among the Representatives, which Napoleon thought it prudent to allay by giving a speedy sanction to the election they had made. The spirit thus manifested, implied, that the Chamber, while they resolved to rally round Napoleon, as an instrument necessary for the deliverance of the country from the dictation of foreign powers, were not forgetful of the character of the man; and they perceived the necessity of guarding against every encroachment, which in the event of his success against the foreign enemy might facilitate his re-assumption of despotic power.

On the 7th of June, Napoleon proceeded in state to open the Session, and surrender to the Legislature that dictatorial authority which he had exercised since his return from Elba. In his speech he stated, that he had accomplished the most anxious desire of his heart, by commencing a constitutional monarchy.—He declared it to be his

wish that France should enjoy all possible liberty ; he said *possible*, because anarchy always resolves itself into absolute government. He then noticed the formidable coalition of Kings which menaced their independence, the capture of the *Melpomene* frigate in the Mediterranean by the English, and the internal divisions of the country.* He stated the strong necessity that existed in the actual state of the country, for some restrictions on the freedom of the press, requested their attention to the finances, and called upon them to give to the nation the example of confidence, energy and patriotism ; and like the Senate of the great people of antiquity, resolve to die rather than survive the dishonour and degradation of France. The Peers quickly agreed to an obsequious address ; but some tumultuous debates took place in the Chamber of Representatives, before they could decide on a

* Civil war was at this time, actually raging in La Vendée, Brittany, Poitou, Anjou, and Maine, and a variety of conflicts had already taken place with the Royalists under D'Autichamp, La Roche-Jacquelein, Suzannet, and Sassineau. About the middle of May, Carnot sent a considerable body of troops to the scene of action, under the command of Generals Lamarque and Travot, who were ordered to treat the insurgents with the utmost severity ; and they were not remiss in the fulfilment of their instructions. An action took place near La Roche Servire, in which the advantage was claimed by each party, but it was decided against the Royalists by the death of La Roche-Jacquelein, who, previous to the engagement addressed his followers in these emphatic words—“ If I advance, follow me—If I fly, kill me—If I fall, avenge me.” But his successor was forced to lay down his arms a few days after the death of this brave man.

form which should equally convey their fixed resolution to support him against the coalesced monarchs, and to resist the encroachments of despotic powers. It intimated that they were not fully satisfied with the Constitution which he had modelled for them, and announced that national deliberation would as speedily as possible point out the defects and imperfections which the urgency of the national situation had either produced or left uncorrected; and they concluded by a hint, calculated to check his ambition, should the war he was about to wage prove successful. "The nation," they said, "nourishes no scheme of ambition; not even the will of a victorious Prince will be sufficient to draw it on beyond the limits of just defence." Napoleon's reply evinced how keenly he felt the insinuation couched under the concluding part of this Address. He told the Deputies that the Constitution was the pole-star in the tempest; that all public discussion tended to diminish the confidence which should be reposed in it. "The seduction of prosperity," he added, "is not the danger which menaces us at this moment. It is under the Caudine forks that our enemies would now force us to pass. The crisis in which we are placed is imminent. Let us not imitate the conduct of the Roman Empire, which, pressed on all hands by barbarians, made itself the laughing-stock of posterity, by occupying itself with the discussion of abstract questions, while the batter-

ing-ram shook the gates of the metropolis. *I depart this night to place myself at the head of the army.*" These last words seemed to act like an electric shock on the whole Assembly, and no doubt filled many breasts with anxious anticipations of the result of his journey.

"No part of Napoleon's political life," says the author of 'Paul's Letters,' "marked as it has always been by the most rapid and extraordinary promptitude of military preparation, affords such a display of activity as the brief interval which occurred between his resuming the imperial sceptre, and resigning it for ever. Although conciliating the Liberalists, and paralysing the Royalists, occupied some time, and although it was necessary to sacrifice several days to show, and to the national love of *fanfaronade*, he was never an instant diverted from his purpose. While he seemed to be fully occupied with the political discussions of the various parties—with shows and processions, and reviews of children under twelve years old, his more serious preparations for the death-struggle which he expected to encounter, were as gigantic in their character as incessant in their progress." In every quarter the national guards were marching to replace the troops of the line, now destined for active service. Cannon, muskets, and arms of every description were issued from the manufactories with astonishing celerity. The old regiments were recruited; the retired veterans again repaired to

their banners; new levies were instituted; and the martial spirit seemed again to be aroused, and a great part of France converted into an immense camp. Had Murat been enabled to maintain his conquests, there is little doubt, that Napoleon would have made Italy the first scene of his personal warfare, as this would not only have engaged the whole attention of Austria, but caused many of the Russian troops to be detached to his assistance. But by his discomfiture, Bonaparte seemed to be hermetically sealed within the realm of France, menaced as it was by hostile armies on every side, unless by some rapid movement into the enemy's territory at a vulnerable point, he might remove the seat of war to a distance, and thus encourage the ardour of his troops. Excited by hopes of this description, he selected Belgium as the object of his first attack. He trusted that he would be enabled to defeat the armies of England and Prussia in detail before they could be properly concentrated, and that one splendid victory would be sufficient to make the French nation rise *en masse*, excite the Belgians, his late subjects to revolt, and enable him to hold such an imposing attitude towards the Allies as would endanger the very elements of the Coalition.

Carnot about this time made a report of the means which France possessed to resist the formidable invasion which now menaced every part of the French frontier. The army, which during the

Bourbon government had been reduced to 175,000 men, was, since the 20th of March, increased to 375,000 combatants, and before the 1st of August, it would amount to 500,000, independent of the national guards, which consisted of a million of armed men. The loss of the 12,000 pieces of cannon by the delivering up of all the strong places, had been supplied; the arsenals, powder-magazines and armouries, were in full activity, and 600,000 musquets remained in store, after arming the national guards and federates. From this immense military force, a Grand Army of 150,000 men was selected to serve under the immediate command of Napoleon, and in this were included 25,000 of the Imperial Guards, and the most devoted regiments of cavalry and infantry. Strong entrenchments were constructed in the mountains of the Vosges; the passes and strong holds of Lorraine were put in the best possible state of defence; the fine military position under the walls of Lyons was much improved; redoubts were erected between the Saone and the Rhone; and all the towns capable of any defence, were strengthened with palisades, redoubts, and field-works. Experienced and devoted generals were selected for the most important commands. Marshal Soult was named Major General of the Grand Army; Ney was ordered to Lisle; Vandamme, Drouet, D'Erlon, Reille, Gerard, and Mouton-de-Lobau, acted as Lieutenant-Generals; Grouchy,

now elevated to the rank of Marshal, had the command of the cavalry, with Pajol, Excellman, Milhaud, and Kellerman under him. Suchet was entrusted with the command on the frontiers of Switzerland, while Massena assumed the government of the important fortress of Metz. Marshal Macdonald was strongly solicited to accept an appointment under the new government, but he declined it with disdain.

CHAPTER XLVI.

The Allied Armies prepare to enter France.—Movements of the Austrian and Russian Troops.—Marshal Blücher commands the Prussian Army on the Lower Rhine.—Particular Enumeration of the Army of the Netherlands under the Duke of Wellington.—Amount of the French Forces on the frontiers of Flanders.—Napoleon joins his Army.—He issues an animating Address to his Soldiers.—Sudden Advance of the French into Flanders.—Prussian Advanced-Guard driven back.—Capture of Charleroi.—Ney advances with the Left Wing towards Quatre Bras, on the Brussels Road.—Napoleon pursues the Prussians to Fleurus.—Alarm at Brussels.—The British Troops advance to Quatre Bras.—Napoleon's Plan for attacking the Allied Armies on the 16th of June.—Sanguinary Battle of Ligny.—Critical Escape of Marshal Blücher from Death or Captivity.—He is compelled to retire on Wavre, after the most heroic Exertions.—Ney attacks a part of the British Army at Quatre Bras.—Furious Charges of the French Cuirassiers and Lancers.—Heroism of the British and Brunswickers.—The 1st Royals.—42d and 92d Highlanders.—Death of Sir Robert Macara and Col. Cameron.—Singular Contest for the Wood of Bossu.—The French are driven from the Wood by the British Foot-Guards.—Death of Colonels Miller and Thomas.—Prince of Orange taken prisoner, but rescued by a Belgian Corps.—Death of the Duke of Brunswick.—Marshal Ney marches in person against Sir James Kempt's Brigade.—Gallant Resistance of the 28th Regiment.—Sir Thomas Picton advances against the Enemy, and puts them to flight.—Loss of both Armies.—The French publish gasconading accounts of the Battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras.—Napoleon advances to attack the Duke of Wellington.—Marshal Grouchy is left to watch the movements of the Prussians.—Retreat of the British.—Exultation of the French.—Napoleon pursues the retreating Army.—

Repulse of the French Cuirassiers and Lancers.—The Duke of Wellington takes a position in front of Waterloo.—The French occupy the Heights of La Belle Alliance.

THE Allied Forces were at this time on the point of once more penetrating into France, and the seat of the Congress had been removed from Vienna to Frankfort, to be near the theatre of war. The Austrian army which had subdued Murat, amounting to 150,000 men, were advancing through Switzerland, the Cantons having joined the Coalition. Prince Schwartzemberg, with an Austrian force of equal strength, menaced the Higher Rhine; and two hundred thousand Russians under the Archduke Constantine and Generals Barclay de Tolly, Sacken, Langeron, &c. were pressing towards the frontiers of Alsace. Blucher commanded the army of the Lower Rhine, consisting of 110,000 Prussians, which was, at the suggestion of the Duke of Wellington, so situated as to be enabled to co-operate with the army of the Netherlands, commanded by his Grace, which amounted to between seventy and eighty thousand British, Germans and Belgians. Eighty thousand Prussians, under the immediate command of Blucher, occupied Charleroi, Givet, Namur, and the left bank of the Sambre, while Bulow, with thirty thousand more, was cantoned in the country between Liege and Hannut.

The Duke of Wellington had arrived at Brussels in the month of April, and he made such

a disposition of his army, that it might be concentrated in twenty-four hours, and directed on any point of the French frontier. The first corps, under the Prince of Orange, occupied Enghien, Braine-le-Comte, and Nivelles; the second, commanded by Lord Hill, was established at Ath, Oudenarde, and Grammont. The reserve, consisting of the 5th and 6th British divisions, and three Hanoverian brigades, was at Brussels and Ghent, and the cavalry occupied Grammont and Ninove *

* *Enumeration of the Army of the Netherlands, under His Grace the Duke of Wellington, June, 1815.*

CAVALRY.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THE EARL OF UXBRIDGE.

<i>Brigades.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Regiments.</i>	<i>Effective Men.</i>
1st.	Major-Gen. Lord E. Somerset.	1st and 2d Life Guards, Horse Guards, 1st Drag. Gds.	1,227
2d.	— Sir W. Ponsonby.	1st, 2d, 6th Dragoons.	1,183
3d.	— Count Dornberg.	23d L. D. 1st & 2d German Leg.	1,413
4th.	— Sir J. O. Vandeleur.	11th, 12th, 16th L. D.	1,187
5th.	— Sir Colqu. Grant.	7th, 16th Huss. 2d H. G. L.*	1,262
6th.	— Sir R. H. Vivian.	10th, 16th Huss. 1st H. G. L.	1,404
7th.	— Sir F. Arentschildt.	13th L. D. 3d. H. G. L.	1,030
8th.	—	Estorff, Prince Regent, Bre- men, Verdun, and Cumber- land Hussars.	1,135
			9,841

INFANTRY.

1st Corps—THE PRINCE OF ORANGE, K. G. C. B.

1st Division—MAJOR-GENERAL COOKE.

<i>Brigades.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Regiments.</i>	<i>Effective Men.</i>
1st Brit.	Major-Gen. Maitland.	1st and 3d Batts. 1st Foot Gds.	2,054
2d do.	— Sir J. Byng.	2d Batts. 2d and 3d Foot Gds.	2,074
3d Division—LIEUT.-GEN. SIR C. ALTEN, K. C. B.			
5th Brit.	Major-Gen. Sir C. Halket.	30th, * 33d, 69th, * 73d* Foot.	2,322
1st K. G. L.	Col. Baron Ompteda.	5th, 6th Line, 1st & 2d Lt. Inf.	1,901
1st Hanov.	— Kielmansegge,	Duke of York, &c.	2,472

The French army on the frontiers of Flanders consisted early in June, of 150,000 men, in the best state of equipment. The cavalry, a species of force in which it was supposed Napoleon would be peculiarly deficient, amounted to more than 25,000 men, in the very first order; and great reliance was placed on the cuirassiers, of whom it contained nine regiments, from the excellence of their appointments, and the superior power of their

2D CORPS—LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD HILL, K.G.C.B.

2D DIVISION—LIEUT.-GEN. SIR H. CLINTON, K.G.C.B.

<i>Brigades.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Regiments.</i>	<i>Effective Men.</i>
3d Brit.	Major-Gen. F. Adam.	52d, 71st, 95th.*	2,817
2d K.G.L.	— Du Plat.	1st, 2d, 3d, 4th K. G. L.	1,979
3d Hanov.	Col. B. Halkett.		2,235
4TH DIVISION—MAJOR-GENERAL HINUBER.			
4th Brit.	Col. Mitchell.	14th,* 23d, 51st.	1,711
6th do.	Major-Gen. Johnston.	35th,*† 54th,*† 59th,*† 91st.†	2,153
6th Hanov.	— Lyon.		2,778
5TH DIVISION—LIEUT.-GEN. SIR T. PICTON.			
8th Brit.	Major-Gen. Sir J. Kempt.	29th, 32d, 79th, 95th.	2,502
9th do.	— Sir Denis Pack.	1st,* 42d, 44th,* 92d.	2,275
5th Hanov.	Col. Vinke.		2,280
6TH DIVISION.			
10th Brit.	Major-Gen. Sir J. Lambert.	4th, 27th, 40th, 81st.*†	2,412
4th Hanov.	Col. Best.	Lunenburg.	2,345
7th Brit.†	Major-Gen. Mackenzie.	4th,* 7th,* 9th,* 25th,* 39th,* } 78th,* 13th Vel. Bat.	
Cavalry,			9,841
Artillery and Engineers,			6,059
Total in British pay,§			52,040
Brunswickers,			8,000
Belgians and Nassau Troops,			14,000
			74,040
Deduct Corps of Observation,			3,819
Effective in the Field,			68,221

§ Of these 31,549 were British.

Regiments marked thus (*) were 2d or 3d battalions.

Regiments marked thus (†) were in Observation under Lieutenant-General Sir C. Colville, to guard the road to Brussels by Halle.

Brigade marked thus (‡) was in Garrison.

horses. All the men in this corps were selected for their experience and valour. Their armour consisted of a breast-plate, bound together by clasps, like the ancient plate-armour; those of the soldiers were iron, those of the officers brass, inlaid with steel: they are proof against a musket-ball unless it comes in a perfectly straight direction. They wore a helmet with cheek-pieces, and their weapons were a long broad-sword, and pistols. In the infantry were comprised 25,000 of the Imperial Guard, who were pledged by every tie to support the throne of Napoleon. The remaining regiments were in a great measure composed of veterans, who had fought and conquered under their renowned leader in numerous battles, and were now resolved to exert their best energies in his cause. Three hundred pieces of cannon accompanied this imposing force; for besides the usual train attached to separate corps, each division had a park of reserve, and the Imperial Guard, in particular, had a superb train, consisting almost entirely of new pieces.

True to his system of fortunate days, Napoleon fixed on the anniversary of the battle of Marengo for the commencement of hostilities. He quitted Paris on the morning of the 12th of June. On leaving the Thuilleries he exclaimed, "I go to measure myself with Wellington;" and from Avesnes, he issued his last triumphant address to his army. "Soldiers!" said he, "this is the anniversary of the battles of Marengo and Friedland, which twice de-

cided the destiny of Europe. There, as after Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous. We believed the protestations and oaths of the kings we left in possession of their thrones: now they have formed a new coalition to destroy the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Let us march to meet them. Are they and we no longer the same men?—Soldiers! at Jena, when contending against those Prussians, of late so arrogant, you were but one to three, and at Montmirail, but one to six.—Let those among you who have been prisoners among the English, describe the misery of their prison hulks.—The Saxons, Belgians, Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to lend their arms to the cause of these princes, the enemies of justice and of the rights of nations. They know this coalition is insatiable. After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, and six millions of Belgians, it is preparing to swallow up the inferior states of Germany.—The madmen! A glimpse of prosperity has blinded them. To oppress or humble France is beyond their power. If they enter her territory, it will be to find their sepulchre.—Soldiers! we must undertake forced marches—battles—perils; but, with constancy, victory will be our's. The rights, the happiness of the country, will be secured by conquest.

To every Frenchman who has a soul, the moment of death or victory is arrived."

This address which was read at the head of every regiment, was received with such enthusiasm by the troops, as to inspire Napoleon with the strongest confidence in their valour and devoted attachment to his cause. Eager to avenge their former disgrace, they demanded to be led without delay against the enemy, and their wish was soon gratified. Napoleon's first object appears to have been, to surprise the Prussians in their cantonments, and cut off the communication between Prince Blücher and the Duke of Wellington; and success seemed more than probable from the necessarily dislocated state of the allied forces to secure a sufficient supply of provisions, and the impossibility of concentrating their army upon any one point of the frontier, without leaving the other parts of the boundary exposed to the inroads of the enemy. With less vigilant adversaries, the completion of Napoleon's wishes might have been realized. His headquarters were, on the 14th, at Beaumont, with the Imperial Guard and 6th corps; the first corps under Count d'Erlon, was at Solre-sur-Sambre; the second, commanded by General Reille, at Hans-sur-Heure; the third, commanded by General Vandamme, was on the right of Beaumont; and the fourth, under General Gerard, approaching Philippeville. Marshal Grouchy commanded the right wing, and Marshal Ney the left.

At three o'clock on the morning of the 15th the whole French army was put in motion. The second corps advanced upon Thuin, where they attacked the Prussian posts, and compelled General Ziethen to retire on Marchienne-sur-Pont with considerable loss. The French light cavalry, at the same time, cleared the eastern bank of the Sambre ; and towards mid-day, Napoleon in person commenced the attack of Charleroi, where Ziethen concentrated his forces. The town was taken and retaken several times, but it ultimately remained in the hands of the French, who being joined by the third corps under General Vandamme, pursued the retreating Prussians to Fleurus.— They took several prisoners, but they seem to have sustained as much loss as they inflicted, and the brave General Letort was mortally wounded upon this occasion.

The left wing, which consisted of the first and second corps, and four divisions of cavalry, was commanded by Marshal Ney, who only joined the army that day. The Marshal immediately pushed on a strong body of troops, which succeeded in dislodging from Frasné a Belgian corps, which formed, in some measure, the communication between the English and Prussian armies. The Belgians retreated to a farm-house called Quatre-Bras, from its forming the point of intersection between four roads, that from Nivelles to Namur crossing at this place the main causeway which leads to Brussels.

The result of these first movements was decidedly in favour of the French. The capture of Charleroi with its valuable magazines and above one thousand prisoners, on the first day of the campaign, inspired the soldiers with fresh confidence in the invincibility of their favourite leader, while Napoleon was now enabled to act against two separate armies instead of one formidable united force. He failed not to profit by his first success : the most exaggerated reports were instantly circulated ; the prisoners were sent into France, on those routs by which other corps were advancing to join the army, who, indulging the brightest anticipations from these early advantages, eagerly pressed forward to participate in the glory of their comrades. But these pleasing hopes were in some measure allayed by the defection of General Bourmont and some officers in his suite, who in the course of the night went over to the Prussians, and a few days after re-entered the service of Louis XVIII., at Ghent.

Though the Allied Generals had adopted the most judicious measures for sudden combination and mutual support, yet it appeared to be the general opinion that Napoleon would act on the defensive ; and so completely did he conceal his plan of operations, that his irruption into Belgium seems to have burst upon them with the suddenness of an explosion.* To meet and drive back the tide

* " It is not to be supposed," says the author of ' Paul's Letters,' " that the Duke of Wellington had neglected, upon this

of war under such circumstances, must greatly exalt the glory of the illustrious heroes by whom it was effected.

The retreat of his advanced corps announced to Prince Blücher the enemy's approach; but though he knew that the fourth corps under General Bülow, being stationed in the neighbourhood of Liege, could not possibly join in time, he directed his remaining forces, amounting to eighty thousand men, to concentrate themselves upon Fleurus, where he resolved to meet the first onset of the enemy.

important occasion, the necessary means to procure intelligence, for which he had been so pre-eminently distinguished in the Peninsula. But it has been conjectured, either that the persons whom he employed as his sources of intelligence, were, upon this occasion, seduced by Buonaparte, or that false information was conveyed to the English General, leading him to believe that such had been the case, and of course inducing him to doubt the report of his own spies. I have understood from good authority, that a person, bearing for Lord Wellington's information, a detailed and authentic account of Buonaparte's plan for the campaign, was actually despatched from Paris, in time to have reached Brussels before the commencement of hostilities. This communication was entrusted to a female who was furnished with a pass from Fouché himself, and who travelled with all dispatch to accomplish her mission; but being stopped for two days on the frontiers of France, did not arrive till after the battle of the 16th. This fact, for such I believe it to be, seems to countenance the opinion, that Fouché maintained a correspondence with the Allies, and may lead on the other hand to suspicion, that though he despatched the intelligence in question, he contrived so to manage, that its arrival should be too late for the purpose which it was calculated to serve. At all events, the appearance of the French upon the Sambre, was at Brussels an unexpected piece of intelligence."

A courier despatched by Marshal. Blucher, announced the commencement of hostilities at Brussels, on the evening of the 15th. The Duke of Wellington was then seated at dinner, surrounded by a party of officers, and from the manner in which the Marshal's letter was written, the movement was considered a mere affair of out-posts. It was, indeed, the general opinion among the military, that the first blow would be aimed at Brussels and the English army, and that this was a false alarm of the enemy to induce the Allies to concentrate their chief force in another quarter. The necessary orders were, however, issued to the army to be ready to march at a moment's notice; but, this did not prevent many of the British officers from attending a ball which was given on that night by the Duchess of Richmond. In the midst of their festivities the bugles and drums were heard calling them to arms, a second messenger having arrived about midnight, announcing that the enemy had taken Charleroi; that they were advancing to the position which Blucher had determined to defend behind Fleurus, and that a general engagement was expected to take place on the succeeding day.* Instant orders were issu-

* The second officer arrived from Blucher before twelve o'clock, on the night of the 15th, and the despatches were delivered to the Duke of Wellington, in the ball-room of the Duchess of Richmond. While he was reading them, he seemed to be completely absorbed in their contents; and after he had finished, for

ed for collecting the troops. The officers left the assembly of the lively, the gay, and the thoughtless, to contend in mortal strife with the foes of their country ; and many joined their respective corps in their gala dresses, who were destined before another day should close, to bid adieu for ever, to the cares and the amusements of life !

The vast population of Brussels were now aroused from their slumbers, as there was scarcely a house where military were not quartered. Soldiers were seen in all directions pressing forward to their different parade-grounds, and the *Place Royale* presented a scene of indescribable interest.—Some were bidding a last adieu to their wives and children ; some slumbering on packs of straw ; others were engaged in loading the baggage waggons, or harnessing the artillery, while officers were riding about in all directions, and the air was rent with the sound of drums and bugles. The Duke of Wellington and his staff proceeded at a gallop to *Quatre Bras*, about nine leagues from Brussels, and

some time he remained in the same attitude of deep reflection, totally abstracted from every surrounding object, while his countenance was expressive of fixed and intense thought. He was heard to say to himself—" Marshal Blucher thinks— It is Marshal Blucher's opinion,"—and after remaining thus a few minutes, and having apparently formed his decision, he gave his usual clear and concise orders to one of his staff officers, who instantly left the room, and was again as gay and animated as ever ; he staid for supper, and then went home.—*Circumstantial Details of the Battle of Waterloo, &c. Published by Booth and Egerton.*

in a few hours, the whole of the Allied troops in Brussels marched to the same destination, amidst the prayers and tears of the inhabitants.*

The night was spent by Napoleon in the necessary preliminaries for the important operations of the ensuing day. The successful result of his first movement had given him the choice of attacking the British forces as they came up, or engaging Blucher's army, already in position. He was aware, however, that if he brought his full force to bear upon the British, his right flank and rear would be exposed to the Prussians: on the other hand, if he should march his main army against Marshal Blucher, the British threatened his left with similar danger, unless he could detach such a force in that direction, as would be sufficient to repulse, if not totally defeat, Lord Wellington's advanced guard. On this latter alternative he finally de-

* The 42d and 92d Highland regiments were particular favourites with the people of Brussels, amongst whom they had been domesticated during the preceding winter and spring; and it was no uncommon thing to see the Highland soldier taking care of the children, or keeping the shop of his host. They belonged to the 5th division, commanded by the gallant Sir Thomas Picton, who marched out at their head, mounted on a superb charger, with his reconnoitring class slung across his shoulder, gaily accosting those friends to whom he was bidding a last farewell.—No doubt, much anxiety for their own safety was mixed with the feelings of the people of Brussels upon this occasion, as it was firmly believed, that Napoleon had promised to his soldiers the unlimited plunder of this fine city, if they should be able to force their way to it.

cided. Marshal Ney had instructions to attack with the second corps and the cavalry under Lefebvre Desnouettes, the English and Belgians, as they came up on the Brussels road, and particularly to dislodge them from Quatre Bras, where they communicated by their left with the Prussians ; while Napoleon himself led his principal force, by a lateral movement, in the direction of Namur, into a position opposed to the Prussians. The first corps, commanded by General D'Erlon, was stationed at Marchienne, nearly midway between Bonaparte and Ney, to act as a reserve to either.

Marchal Blucher's army, about 80,000 strong, occupied a line between Brie and Sombref, where three villages, built upon broken and unequal ground, served each as a separate redoubt, and were well defended by artillery and strong bodies of infantry. His right wing occupied the village of St. Amand, his left was stationed at Sombref, and his centre at Ligny-sous-Fleurus. All these hamlets are strongly built, and contain several houses, with large court yards and orchards which may be converted into stations of defence, while the ground behind them forms an elevated amphitheatre, before which runs a deep ravine, edged by straggling thickets. Behind each village were stationed masses of infantry to reinforce the defenders as occasion required.

Both armies entered the field determined to

avenge to the utmost, the injuries which had been suffered by their respective countries. The Prussians talked over their watch-fires of their martyred queen, their king reduced to the state of a vassal, and the innumerable crimes of murder, lust, and rapine, which had been committed by the French in their peaceful hamlets. The French soldiers, on the other hand, viewed their adversaries as perfidious wretches, who, though formerly conquered by them, and admitted to be their companions in arms, had been the first to lift the standard against them on their disastrous retreat from Russia, and afterwards invaded and subdued the sacred territory of France. From men maddened by such feelings on either side, the ordinary courtesies of war were not to be expected. The Prussians declared their determination neither to give nor receive quarter; and the black flag was hoisted by two of the French divisions, to intimate that they had formed the same sanguinary resolution.

The morning and forenoon of the 16th were spent in reconnoitring and indecisive skirmishing; but at three in the afternoon, the French army advanced to the attack under a furious cannonade. The third corps, led on by Vandamme, marched against St. Amand, the fourth under Gerard, against Ligny, and the sixth, commanded by Grouchy, against Sombref. The Imperial Guard, and a vast body of cavalry remained in reserve. St.

Amand was quickly carried by the division of General Le Fol, but it was almost instantly recovered by the Prussian masses which advanced from the rear. The French, reinforced in turn, renewed the assault, and gaining a partial possession of the village, a murderous conflict was maintained for several hours in the streets, orchards and houses. Sombref, on the left of the Prussian line, was at the same time the scene of a sanguinary conflict between Marshal Grouchy and the Saxon General Thielman; but the battle raged with the greatest fury at Ligny, in front of the Prussian centre, which was attacked by General Gerard under the immediate eye of Napoleon. The village was several times taken and lost. Several houses, enclosed with court-yards according to the Flemish fashion, formed so many redoubts, the possession of each being separately disputed; and the peaceful church-yard, with its little wall of circumvallation, became the frequent scene of obstinate attack and defence.—The sanguinary determination of the combatants at the commencement of the conflict was here carried into full and horrible effect. No quarter was asked or offered, and the battle raged for several hours amidst the roar of two hundred pieces of cannon, the flames of burning houses, and the carcasses of thousands of the slain which choaked the streets and passages. At length, the arrival of General Pecheux with part of the reserve, consisting of eight battalions of guards, decided the contest, and Ligny remained in possession of the French.

Undismayed by the unpropitious aspect of affairs, Marshal Blücher in person made a fresh attack upon St. Amand, which he carried, as well as an important height in its vicinity, where he established batteries that played with dreadful effect on the enemy's squares. Here he hoped to maintain himself until the arrival of Bülow's corps, or a reinforcement from the English army, which would have enabled him to make a general attack upon the enemy with his right wing. Napoleon, alarmed at this event, determined at every risk to recover this important place, which formed the key of the right wing of the Prussian position. Vandamme was commanded to make the most vigorous exertions, to accomplish this object; and, to assure his success, the first corps which had been stationed to act as a reserve either to Napoleon's army or that of Marshal Ney, was ordered to march to his support. But before this reinforcement had reached the scene of action, Vandamme, after meeting a desperate resistance, succeeded in dislodging the Prussians, and the first corps was sent back to its former station. At eight o'clock both St. Amand and Ligny were in undisputed possession of the French.

Sombref, on the left of the Prussian line, was still successfully defended against the attacks of Marshal Grouchy; and the Prussians, though driven from the villages in front of the amphitheatre of

hills, still maintained their alignment on the heights themselves, impatiently but vainly looking for the expected reinforcements; for Bulow found it impossible to surmount the impediments of a long road through a difficult country, and the Duke of Wellington was himself, at the same moment, waging a fierce contest with the corps of Marshal Ney. In the mean time, Napoleon had formed a plan for bringing this terrible engagement to an end, by one of those daring and skilful manœuvres which he had seen so frequently crowned with success. He concentrated upon Ligny, which fronted the centre of the Prussian line, eight battalions of the Imperial Guard, thrown into one formidable column, supported by four squadrons of cavalry, two regiments of cuirassiers, and the horse grenadiers of the guard. Favoured by the approach of night, this numerous band of veterans, the *elite* of the French army, traversed the village of Ligny, now in flames, at the charge-step, threw themselves into the ravine in front of the heights, and began to ascend them in the face of a terrific fire of grape and musketry; and while the infantry made tremendous efforts to penetrate the centre of the line, several charges of the Prussian cavalry were repulsed by the French cuirassiers. In one of these which was led on by himself, the gallant Blucher narrowly escaped death or captivity. His horse having been struck down by a musket shot, the Marshal fell prostrate

on the ground, where he lay, stunned by the violence of the fall, while fliers and pursuers passed over him. His aid-de-camp threw himself beside the veteran, determined to share his fate, and had the precaution to cover him with a cloak, to prevent his being recognized by the French. The cuirassiers passed over him a second time, and it was not until they were repulsed that the illustrious hero was providentially extricated from a fate, which might have been productive of the most disastrous effects on the campaign.

Being re-mounted, and finding, to use his own emphatic words, "that the Prussians had lost the field but not their honour," he ordered a retreat in the direction of Tilly, and about ten o'clock it commenced with the greatest regularity. The artillery being disposed in front of the line could not be easily withdrawn, and several pieces (fifteen according to the Prussian account, but forty according to that of the French) fell into the enemy's hands. The infantry retired with such order, and in such strong masses as to be impenetrable to the French cavalry, who soon gave up the pursuit. The brave Thielman, who maintained himself in Sombref during the whole of the action, followed with the left wing on the succeeding day, and being at length joined by Bulow's corps, Blucher concentrated his whole force in the neighbourhood of Wavre, ten miles from the field of battle, and it was soon placed in a condition for renewing the action.

The Prussians lost about twenty thousand men in this sanguinary engagement, while the French stated their loss at only three thousand, a number which should have probably been quadrupled. But the results were not of that decisive nature of which Napoleon had to boast upon many former occasions. There were no corps cut off or dispersed, no regiments which fled and flung down their arms, while the defeated army was in two days ready again to take the field. Indeed, the chief advantage which Napoleon derived from the battle of Ligny was, that it opened the campaign with favourable auspices ; but the hopes that this was calculated to inspire were considerably damped, by the reception which his left wing had experienced on the same day from the British army at Quatre Bras.

The Duke of Wellington considered the maintenance of this position as a matter of the first importance, because it was situated at the intersection of the roads from Charleroi to Brussels, and from Nivelles to Namur, by which the British communicated with the Prussians at St. Amand. On the evening of the 15th, a brigade of Belgians, under the Prince of Weimar, had been driven from the ground which it occupied between Quatre Bras and Frasn , by the advancing enemy, but the arrival of the Prince of Orange with a reinforcement on the following morning, enabled it to recover its position. When the Duke of Wellington reached

the scene of action, he ordered the Belgians again to fall back on Quatre Bras, there to await the arrival of the troops from Brussels.

The ground round Quatre Bras is intersected with inclosures then covered with tall crops, which with the hedges, rendered is extremely difficult for either party to ascertain the strength or movements of their opponents. A thick and extensive wood called Le Bois de Bossu, skirted the road to Brussels, on the right of the British position: along the edge of this wood was a hollow way or ravine; and between the wood and the enemy's position were several fields of rye, of gigantic height. The possession of this wood became a principal object of contest throughout the day.

About half-past two o'clock, the 3d and 5th divisions, under General Alten and Sir Thomas Picton, with a brigade of cavalry, reached the scene of action, after a fatiguing march of nearly thirty miles. The action had already commenced by the most strenuous efforts of the French tirailleurs to dislodge the Belgians from the Wood of Bossu, which would enable the enemy to cut off the communication between them and the forces that were coming up, and in this attempt they had momentary success. The British and Brunswickers, as they arrived, took post near Quatre Bras, presenting a front to the enemy at their first onset of about 18,000 men. The 1st battalion of the 95th (riflemen) was instantly detached to drive the French

from the wood : they succeeded, and left it in possession of three companies of Brunswickers, but they in turn were driven from this important post, which was again occupied by the enemy, who at the same time advanced in great force upon the causeway from Charleroi to Brussels, and on the intersecting cross-road from Namur to Nivelles.— An action now ensued in which the British infantry (for scarcely any cavalry had come up) emulated the glory of the heroes of Minden, and bravely stood their ground against the most desperate charges of the enemy. The French division of General Foy first advanced to the attack ; but they were so warmly received by General Pack's brigade of Picton's division, (the 1st Royals, 42d, 44th, and 92d regiments,) that they were compelled to retreat in disorder. The 3d battalion of the Royal Scots was ordered by Sir Thomas Picton to charge a column of French infantry, which they routed ; but the enemy having again formed under the protection of their cavalry, they commenced a galling fire on the battalion which did considerable execution. The French cuirassiers then made six or seven furious charges upon the Royals, who had formed into square ; but they were unable to make the slightest impression on this gallant body of men, and the cuirassiers were compelled to retreat in disorder. The 42d Highlanders now pushed forward in line after the fugitives, followed by a battalion of Belgians. The superior ardor of the Highlanders outstripping

their comrades, they were suddenly assailed by a strong column of French lancers, whom the hedges and high standing corn had concealed from their view. Colonel Sir Robert Macara instantly ordered the regiment to form a hollow square ; but so sudden was the attack of the enemy, that in performing the evolution, two companies were cut to pieces by the lancers, while in the act of falling in. Desperate but ineffectual charges were now made on the square : many indeed were mowed down, including their brave Colonel,* but the survivors remained firm as a rock. Lieutenant-Colonel Dick, though wounded by a musket-ball, now assumed the command, and forming his men into a diminished square, awaited another attack. The lancers again made a desperate onset ; but the gallant Scots stood like a wall of adamant, many of them fighting back to back until they were cut down. Lieutenant-Colonel Dick fainting, at length, from the loss of blood, was succeeded in the command by Major Davidson, who had been previously wounded twice ; but he continued the unequal contest, till the lancers were put to flight, and he received his death-wound near the close of

* Sir Robert Macara having been wounded, was in the act of being carried off the field by four of his men, when they were surrounded and made prisoners by the enemy. Perceiving by the Colonel's numerous decorations, that he was an officer of rank, and possibly considering the difficulty of detaining him as a prisoner, they immediately cut him down with his faithful attendants.

the action. Of 572 men of which this brave regiment consisted on entering the field, 284 were killed or wounded.

The great superiority of the enemy in cavalry and artillery, enabled them at the same time to make furious attacks on other parts of the British position. But the Duke of Wellington took his post at a station from which he could mark every movement, and though often in the hottest of the fire, he delivered his orders with as much coolness and precision, as if the actors in this scene of death were manœuvring at a review. The French cuirassiers made a dash down the causeway leading to Brussels to carry two guns by which it was defended, the success of which would have enabled them to penetrate to the very centre of the British position; and in this effort they displayed the most dauntless bravery. Some squadrons of Brunswick horse attempting in vain to resist the torrent, were compelled to retreat along the high road through the village of Quatre Bras, closely pursued by the cuirassiers. But here the French cavalry met an unexpected salute from the 92d Highlanders, who had been posted since the commencement of the action in a ditch on the side of the road to cover the artillery. The regiment waited with the greatest coolness till the Brunswickers had cleared them, and the pursuing enemy were at the very muzzles of their guns, when they poured in a volley upon them with such decisive effect, that every

man in the direction of their fire was destroyed, and a complete chasm made in the front and rear ranks of the squadrons that were galloping by.—The few in advance rushed forward to the spot where Lord Wellington was stationed in the midst of his staff, but they were to a man killed or taken; and the rear, disconcerted by their unlooked-for reception, turned their horses and fled: they, however, quickly formed to charge again, supported by infantry. The 92d now leaped from the ditch, but as they advanced they received a volley from a house and garden in possession of the French, by which the staff of the regimental colours was shattered to pieces, the ensign who carried it shot through the heart, and many brave men were killed or wounded. Still nothing could check the impetuosity of these gallant men. They rushed forward under a most tremendous fire, cleared the house and garden of the enemy, and pursued them to the very skirts of the wood: this success was dearly purchased by the death of their brave Colonel Cameron,* and the loss of 22 other officers and 270 men, who were killed or wounded.

* Colonel Cameron had been much distinguished in the Peninsular War, particularly in the action of Arroyo-del-Molino; in the defence of the pass of Maya; in the brilliant action near Bayonne; in crossing the river Gave de Mouline at Arriverete; and in compelling, at the head of his brave regiment, a very superior force of the enemy to abandon the town of Aire. For these services his Majesty had granted to Colonel Cameron, his royal

Striking displays of bravery were exhibited by the allied troops in other parts of the field. The 3d division, composed of the 30th, 33d, 69th, and 73d regiments, four battalions of the German Legion, and Kielmansegge's Hanoverian brigade, was stationed between Quatre Bras and Sart a Mavelines, the right wing occupying the former, and the left the latter village. They maintained a fierce contest with the enemy for possession of the Wood of Bossu, which was alternately occupied by the French and the Allies. The Hanoverians drove the enemy from Piermont in their front, and bravely repulsed several desperate attempts to turn their left wing. But all the heroism of these gallant men must have yielded to the numerical strength of the enemy, but for the timely arrival of the 1st division under Major-General Cooke, consisting of about four thousand of the British Foot Guards. They reached the scene of action after a march of fifteen hours, at the critical moment when the 33d regiment, who had suffered immense loss from the French cavalry and artillery, were compelled to retire into the Wood of Bossu, whither they were impetuously pursued by the enemy, who were rapidly making themselves masters of the wood.—

license and authority to bear the following crest of honorable augmentation, viz. :—"On a wreath, a Highlander of the 92d regiment, up to the middle in water, grasping in his dexter-hand a broad-sword, and in his sinister a banner inscribed, '92d,' within a wreath of laurel; and in escrol the word "Arriverete."

One brigade of the Guards under General Maitland, at the first glimpse of their adversaries, halted, formed, and with three cheers rushed into the wood; while the other formed a square in front of it, and repelled reiterated charges of the enemy's cavalry. A singular conflict now ensued; every ditch, every tree, every bush was contested; and the enemy made a rivulet which runs through the wood, a point of determined and deadly defence, but they were ultimately driven into the plain: and now a struggle of a different description ensued. As the Guards, disordered by the nature of the conflict, issued from the wood, they found a division of French infantry ready to receive them. Without waiting to reform their line, they rushed with ardor on this new enemy. The French recoiled from the shock, and were pursued up the rising ground. But here their powerful cavalry, perceiving that the brigade was unsupported, made a furious charge upon them, and all attempts to form square under such circumstances being ineffectual, they were forced to retire to the wood, pursued by the French dragoons. The Guards soon rallying under protection of the trees, poured a destructive fire on the advancing enemy, which made them fly in disorder, and again proceeded to the attack of the infantry—but they had to retire from another furious charge of the cavalry; and these manœuvres were repeated several times, the Guards being unable to debouche from

among the trees in such order, as to meet the menaced charge, and the French repulsed in every attempt to penetrate the wood. The arrival of a corps of Brunswickers at length decided the contest in this quarter : the Guards advancing with this reinforcement, finally compelled the enemy to retreat, and General Maitland retained possession of this important post, which commanded the road to Brussels.

The contest for the Wood of Bossu, cost the lives of many brave officers and men of the British Guards, some of whom exhibited in their dying moments, traits of heroism and love of country, that reflect honor on the British character, and the record of which adds a considerable degree of interest to details of battles, which generally present to the imagination only a gloomy picture of indiscriminate carnage. A remarkable instance of the union of exalted friendship with enthusiastic bravery, was evinced upon this occasion by Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, of the 1st Foot Guards; who, when mortally wounded in the attack of the Bois de Bossu, desired to see the colours of the regiment once more before he expired. They were waved over his head—he declared himself contented, and then expressed his satisfaction to his intimate associate Colonel Thomas, that he himself should have met this fate rather than his friend who had been lately married. Alas! ere one hour had expired, Colonel Thomas shared the fate which his dying

compatriot wished should be exhausted by his own misfortune.

Even the phlegmatic Belgians were roused by the example of the British and Germans to deeds of extraordinary heroism. At one period of the battle the Prince of Orange was surrounded and made prisoner by the enemy. A battalion of Belgians instantly rushed to his relief, and rescued him. The Prince tore off the insignia of his order, and threw it among the soldiers, exclaiming,—“There, my brave fellows, you have all deserved it!” They immediately fastened the star to their colours, and shouting “the Prince for ever!” swore to defend it to the last man. Their sincerity was instantly put to the test, by a galling fire which was poured on them by the enemy, and many of them fell while pronouncing the oath. The Brunswickers, headed by their gallant Duke, were throughout the day in the thickest of the fight. The Duke of Brunswick had accompanied Lord Wellington from Brussels, and he expressed an anxious wish to have an opportunity of meeting the French in equal force with his own troops. That wish was gratified, but at the expense of a life which had been devoted to the independence of his native country, and the cause of Europe. After repeatedly defeating the enemy, at the head of his brave Brunswickers, and receiving several wounds, he fell, about seven o’clock, by a case-shot, which

laid his breast open, and in ten minutes he was numbered with the slain.*

The obstinate defence made by the British and their Allies, and the preparations of the Duke of Wellington to act on the offensive, began now to alarm Marshal Ney for the result of the battle; and the danger appeared so imminent, that he sent in

* Frederic-William, Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, Oels, and Bernstadt, perished in his 44th year. He was nephew to our late revered Sovereign, and the son and successor of Charles-William, Duke of Brunswick, who died in 1806, of the wounds he received in the battle of Jena, and whose memory had been treated with so much indignity by Napoleon. Bred up in camps from his infancy, he resolved to devote all his powers of mind and body to avenge the wrongs of his country and his house. Robbed of his dominions by the treaty of Tilsit, he retired to Bruchsal with his beloved consort, of whom he was deprived a few months after, by the hand of death, before she had attained her 26th year. In 1809 he was roused from the melancholy caused by this event, by the new rupture between France and Austria. He raised an independent corps of hussars, whom he clothed in black, as mourning for his father and his wife; and at their head he performed many gallant exploits, which have been recorded in a preceding volume. The unfortunate termination of that war, caused him to take refuge in England, and his troops were taken into British pay. During the subsequent four years he shared his time between his promising sons and his faithful Brunswickers, whose banners waved in conjunction with those of Britain, on the plains of Salamanca and Vittoria. The deliverance of Germany at the close of 1813, recalled him to his paternal dominions, and he made exertions beyond his means to support the cause of Europe; and at the head of his young but gallant warriors, he displayed the most heroic gallantry during the whole of the day of Quatre Bras, till his valuable life was closed by an honorable death.

haste for the 1st corps, when, to his utter astonishment, he learned that Napoleon had already disposed of it, to enable him to carry the position of the Prussians at St. Amand. For a moment the French Marshal was confounded: but recalling all his self-possession, he brought into action the whole of his reserves, and led them in person against Sir James Kempt's brigade of the 5th division, which consisted of the 28th, 32d, 79th, and 95th regiments. The cuirassiers and lancers advanced with their accustomed bravery, but they were again forced to fly from the overwhelming fire of this gallant brigade. The 28th regiment, formed in square, had to fire from three sides at the same time, the lancers having presented themselves on one side, and the cuirassiers on the two others. They were assailed by repeated charges of the cavalry, but as the front rank men fell under the sabre or lance, their places were instantly supplied from the rear, and as their numbers diminished, the square was gradually lessened; but not a single opening was left for the enemy to penetrate, and their incessant and well-directed fire finally repulsed their assailants. Sir Thomas Picton now ordered the brigade to advance in squares against the flying enemy, as many squadrons of cavalry still hovered round them, and it would have been dangerous to have deployed. In this manner the brigade advanced against a mass of infantry whose

centre they instantly pierced, and then deploying, charged in line. The French fled in the utmost confusion; the baggage, camp-followers, and wounded, crowded the road to Charleroi, circulating every where that the English were at their heels. But the cuirassiers of General Roussel again interposed to check the advance of the British, and cover the retreat of the French infantry to their position on the heights of Frasn . The British now made several vigorous attempts to carry those heights, in which they would have probably succeeded, but for the return of the 1st corps from St. Amand, which gave to the French an immense superiority. Night terminated the conflict, and both armies bivouacked on the positions which they respectively occupied.

The loss of the British in this sanguinary engagement, was stated in the London Gazette to be 3,018 killed and wounded. That of the French was acknowledged in their bulletin to be 4,200. No decisive result was the immediate consequence, but it crowned the allied forces with imperishable renown. With inferior numbers, hastily formed after a most fatiguing march, and almost without cavalry or artillery, they resisted for seven hours with unshaken intrepidity, the reiterated and murderous charges of Marshal Ney's force, well furnished in both the arms of which the British were nearly destitute. By this heroic valour Brussels was preserved, a body of twenty-five or thirty thousand

men completely paralyzed, which, if united with the French force at the battle of Ligny, might have completely annihilated the Prussian army; and the connection was maintained between the Allied Generals which led to the singularly decisive results of the battle of the 18th. Marshal Ney attributed his want of success, with some shew of reason, to the imprudence of his master, in withdrawing the first corps from his support at the moment when he most needed their assistance, and sending them back again when that assistance had become useless. He insisted that the Emperor should have first bent his principal force to the destruction of the English army, leaving a corps of observation to watch Marshal Blucher, and then the possession of Quatre-Bras and Genappe would have given him the opportunity of crushing the Prussians in their turn. But whoever considers the actual situation of the different armies on the morning of the 16th, must be convinced that the Marshal's plan would have been attended with equal, if not superior difficulties to that which had been adopted; for if Ney himself, with a superior force, was unable to overthrow the dislocated columns of the British as they arrived on the field of Quatre-Bras, how could a mere corps of observation have prevented Marshal Blucher, at the head of a concentrated force of 80,000 men, from flying to the aid of Lord Wellington? The imprudence of Napoleon consisted not in his plan of attack

(for it was the wisest which under all circumstances he could have adopted,) but in attacking them at all. His grand error appears to have been, that he estimated at too cheap a rate, the skill of the Generals and the valour of the troops opposed to him. He should have known that they were men of a very different character from those who in the days of his glory, alarmed at the sound of his name, and the rapidity of his movements, fled almost resistless from the fury of his onset. The talisman by which he had wrought his wonders, had lost its virtue; he had been shorn of his strength, and become weak like other men; and nothing now would serve to accomplish his mighty object, but superior skill, superior courage, or an overwhelming force of numerical strength. To the divided army of the Allies he was able to present superior numbers; but the wise and well executed arrangements of the British and Prussian commanders, rendered this advantage of little value.

Napoleon, however, pretended to draw the most brilliant auguries from the events of the day, of which gasconading statements were transmitted to Paris. Marshal Soult in a despatch to Davoust, the Minister at War, says, "The Emperor has succeeded in separating the line of the Allies. Wellington and Blucher saved themselves with difficulty. The effect was theatrical. In an instant the firing ceased, and the enemy was routed

in all directions." Another despatch, speaking of the two battles, says, "The noble lord must have been confounded. Whole bands of prisoners are taken. They do not know what is become of their commanders. The rout is complete on this side, and I hope we shall not hear again of the Prussians for some time, even if they should ever be able to rally. As for the English we shall see now what will become of them. The Emperor is here!"

Napoleon appeared indeed to act under the impression that Blucher's army would not again be able to take the field until he had completely routed the British; for in a few hours after the conclusion of the battle of Ligny, he made a movement to his left to join Marshal Ney with his whole force, with the exception of the third corps, consisting of about thirty thousand men, under Grouchy and Vandamme, who were ordered to watch the motions of the Prussians at Wavre. The British army at Quatre Bras, in the mean time, had been reinforced by the arrival of its cavalry, artillery, and several divisions of infantry, and the night of the 16th was spent in preparations for renewing the combat on the following day, and in the performance of the melancholy duty of committing to the earth the remains of their fallen comrades. But a despatch from Marshal Blucher, which arrived at ten o'clock on the morning of the 17th, announced the retreat of the Prussian army; and the intuitive mind of the Bri-

tish chief instantly foreseeing that Napoleon would direct the whole weight of his force against *Quatre Bras*, he resolved to make a corresponding movement, and retire to a position which would again place him in communication with the gallant veteran. The orders for this purpose were carried into effect with such promptitude, that before eleven o'clock all the troops were on the road to the forest of *Soignies*, the cavalry covering the rear.

The British had scarcely commenced their retrograde movement when the whole French army appeared drawn out in line of battle on the heights of *Frasné*: but when they beheld the columns retiring which they had expected immediately to engage, they made little doubt that the English were in full march to embark at *Antwerp*. Napoleon now put his troops in motion to pursue an enemy whom he considered as already vanquished. The cuirassiers and lancers, forming his advanced-guard, pressed close on the rear of the British, amidst torrents of rain which rendered the roads almost impassable. This, however, proved a favourable circumstance for the retreating troops, as the fields were so deep that the French cavalry were unable to harass their flanks, and they were forced to confine their efforts to the centre, which occupied the high road. They offered no serious annoyance unless near *Genappe*, a small town situated near the causeway to *Brus-*

sels, which passes through its confined street, and crosses the Dyle, a deep and sluggish stream, over a long and narrow bridge, forming a defile very unfavourable for a retreating army. A body of lancers here attacked the rear of the British while they were engaged in filing through the village. The Earl of Uxbridge ordered the 7th hussars to attack the French. They advanced intrepidly to the charge; but, from the length of the enemy's weapons, and the manner in which they were drawn up, having each flank well secured, with a mass of cavalry in the rear, the British were repulsed. A second gallant charge of the hussars met with a similar result; but Lord Uxbridge perceiving that the lancers were somewhat disordered by the vivacity of the attack, ordered up the Life Guards and Oxford Blues to the assault. The long swords, strong horses, and tall men of these fine regiments effected what the light-armed troops had been unable to accomplish. Their weighty charge bore down all resistance; the lancers and cuirassiers fled in the greatest disorder, and made no further attempt to molest the retreating army. At five o'clock in the evening the Duke of Wellington led his forces to a position at the entrance of the forest of Soignies, in front of the village of Waterloo.

His Grace had caused a plan of this, and other military positions in the neighbourhood of Brussels to be drawn some time before by Colonel Carmichael Smith, the chief engineer. He now called

for that sketch, and with the assistance of Sir William Delancey and Colonel Smith, made his dispositions for meeting the onset of the enemy.* The Duke then despatched a courier to Marshal Blucher, stating that he expected to be attacked, and requesting the co-operation of as many divisions as he could spare, an invitation which the gallant veteran was not slow to accept. He then established his head-quarters at a little inn in the village of Waterloo, about a mile in rear of the position, while the troops slept upon their arms on the summit of a gentle declivity, chiefly covered with standing corn. The French forces did not arrive for some hours after. As they gradually came up, they occupied a ridge nearly opposite to the British position, the neighbouring hamlets being also crowded with their numerous troops. It was nearly twilight when Napoleon with his advanced-guard, reached a little farm-house called Caillou, about a mile in the rear of La Belle Alliance, where he established his head-quarters.

* The plan, itself a relique so precious, was rendered yet more so, by being found in the breast of Sir William Delancey's coat, when he fell, and stained with the blood of that gallant officer. It is now in the careful preservation of Colonel Carmichael Smyth, by whom it was originally sketched,

CHAPTER XLVII.

State and Feelings of the Hostile Armies, during the Night preceding the Battle of Waterloo.—Description of the Field.—Arrangement of the British Army on the Heights of Mont Saint Jean.—Napoleon draws up his Forces on the Heights of La Belle Alliance.—Commencement of the Battle.—Dreadful Conflict at the Chateau of Hougomont.—Brave Defence of the British Foot Guards.—Attack on the Right Wing repulsed.—Preparations for a General Attack on the Left and the Centre.—Gallant Conduct of Sir Thomas Picton.—His Death and Character.—The Scotch Greys, and 92nd Highlanders.—Brilliant Charge of Sir William Ponsonby's Brigade.—Death of Sir William Ponsonby.—Napoleon orders a vigorous Attack on the British Centre.—Capture of La Haye Sainte.—The French ascend the Heights of Mont Saint Jean.—The British Squares are impenetrable to the most desperate Attacks of the Cuirassiers.—The 30th and 73d Regiments.—Affecting Anecdote.—Heroism of Col. Halket.—Energy of the Duke of Wellington.—Critical Situation of the British line.—Brilliant Charge of the Household Brigade, under Sir John Elley.—Overthrow of the Cuirassiers.—Death of several gallant Officers.—Fresh Attack on the Right Wing defeated.—Arrival of the Prussian Corps under Bulow.—Attack of Wavre by Marshal Grouchy.—Napoleon determines to persevere, and again attacks the Centre.—The Duke of Wellington charges the Enemy in Person, and recovers thirty Pieces of Cannon, which had fallen into their hands.—Marshal Blucher with the Prussians, appears on the Enemy's Right Flank.—Napoleon brings forward his Imperial Guard, and orders a fresh Attack on the British Centre.—They advance against the Heights.—Heroic Conduct of the Duke of Wellington.—Irresistible Charge of the British Foot-Guards.—Destruction of the Old Guard.—Napoleon abandons the Field of Battle.—Grand Charge of the whole

British Line.—They carry the Heights of La Belle Alliance.—The 52nd, 71st, and 95th Regiments.—Immense Capture of Artillery.—Successful Attack by the Prussians on Count Lobau.—Total Rout of the French Army.—Meeting of the Allied Generals.—Blucher undertakes the pursuit of the Enemy.—Flight of Napoleon.—The Prussians capture the remaining Baggage and Artillery of the French at Genappe.—Dreadful Scene at the Bridge of Charleroi.—Dispersion of the French Army.—Grouchy's Retreat.—Conduct of the British Troops after the Battle.—Dreadful Loss on both Sides, in this sanguinary Conflict.—Official Returns of the Loss of the British.—Reflections on this memorable Campaign.—State of Brussels and Antwerp.—Proceedings in the British Parliament relative to the splendid Triumph.—Honours and Rewards conferred upon the Victors.

THE night previous to the battle of Waterloo, was a fit prelude to the fury and carnage of the coming day : the tempest raged and the thunder rolled unremittingly, with such sheets of lightning and deluges of rain as are seldom seen but in tropical climates. Both armies had to sustain the rage of the elements without means either of shelter or refreshment.* The British soldiers were up to

* A letter from an officer of the 95th thus describes the manner in which he passed this memorable night.—“The whole of the 17th, indeed until late the next morning, the weather continued dreadful, and we were starving with hunger, no provisions having been served out since the march from Brussels. While five officers who composed our mess were looking at each other with the most deplorable faces imaginable, one of the men brought us a fowl he had plundered, and a handful of biscuits, which, though but little, added to some tea we boiled in a camp kettle, made us more comfortable; and we huddled up together, covered ourselves with straw, and were soon as soundly asleep as though reposing on beds

their knees in mud, and many of the officers lay down on this comfortless bed, in their ball-dresses, which they had been unable to change. The men were employed during the intervals of rest in cleansing their arms, distributing ammunition, and making other necessary preparations for the approaching conflict, which they had cause to contemplate with feelings depressed below their ordinary tone. A toilsome advance and bloody action had been attended with no immediate result, but a retreat equally laborious. The defeat of the Prussians had left the enemy at liberty to assail them separately with superior forces, while more than half of their own army was composed of foreigners, on whose fidelity the British could not implicitly depend. To these gloomy reflections, they had indeed to oppose the most enthusiastic reliance on the talents of their renowned leader, their own native undaunted courage, and a stern resolution to discharge their duty to their king and country, leaving the result to the All-wise Disposer of events. The French soldiers were animated by feelings of a very different kind;

of down. I awoke long before day-light, and found myself in a bad state altogether, being completely wet through in addition to other ills. Fortunately, soon after this, I found my way to a shed, of which Sir Andrew Barnard, our commandant, had taken possession, where there was a fire, and in which with three or four others I remained until the rain abated, and the sun made his appearance to view the mighty struggle which was to determine the fate of Europe."

all among them was glow and triumph—"The Prussians were annihilated, the British defeated, and the Great Lord astounded."—They affected to fear that the English would not halt till they reached their vessels—nothing was more certain than that the Belgian troops would join the Emperor in a mass; and not a doubt was entertained that Napoleon would enter Brussels on the following day. With such illusions the French soldiers amused themselves, and they appeared chiefly to regret the tempest, as it afforded to the despairing enemy the means of retiring unmolested.

The whole of the French troops had come up during the night, to join in the expected pursuit; but how great was their astonishment, when, at the dawn of day, they beheld the British army drawn up in order of battle on the opposite heights. Napoleon exclaimed with apparent exultation, *Ah je les tiens donc, ces Anglois !*" (I have them at last, these English !) He instantly proceeded with his usual quickness, to make the necessary arrangements for the approaching combat, and having compelled a farmer named La Coste, who lived at the house called Belle Alliance, to act as his guide, he ascended an eminence, and acquainted himself with the various features of the surrounding country, every observation being carefully noted in a map which he carried in his hand. He then gave orders for the disposition of the

troops, and before ten o'clock they were at their allotted stations. A courier had been previously despatched to Marshal Grouchy, with orders to attack the Prussian position at Wavre with as much vivacity as possible, to cross the Dyle, and compel the main body of the Prussians to a general action. Though he must have been conscious that such an attempt would have terminated in the utter destruction of Grouchy's corps, yet he conceived any sacrifice necessary, which would afford him a considerable chance of obtaining a decisive victory over the Duke of Wellington, by giving full employment to Blucher's army.

The field upon which was now to be fought a battle, the most singular in its accompaniments, and the most momentous in its consequences, of any recorded in the history of Europe, fruitful as its pages are in deeds of heroism and of blood, was not far distant from the spot where Dumourier gained the first victory of Revolutionary France, over the Austrians under Duke Albert of Saxe Teschen, and thus opened the flood-gates for that torrent of bloodshed, plunder and devastation, which, impelled by republican frenzy, or the ambition of a despot, had for near a quarter of a century, banished peace from the earth. Now, though the scourge of war had spared the fruitful fields of Belgium for more than twenty years, its return seemed permitted by Providence, to achieve at one blow, the utter destruction of that

military tyranny, by which France had so long trampled on the rights and independence of the other Continental States. Here it was that the two greatest generals of the age, were to contend for the first time in mortal combat, one for the re-establishment of an usurped throne, and the other for the deliverance of Europe, from the horrors of another protracted and sanguinary war, which would have been the too probable consequences of his adversary's success. Every particular connected with this ever-memorable event, is replete with interest.

The road from Brussels runs through the forest of Soignies, a wood composed of beech trees growing very close together, and upon issuing from the wood, reaches the village of Waterloo. Beyond this point the wood assumes a more straggling appearance, and about a mile farther, at a ridge of heights called Mont Saint Jean, the trees almost disappear, and the country becomes quite open. This chain of heights extends for about a mile and a half, and corresponds with a similar, but somewhat higher chain, running parallel with it. The two lines are separated from each other by a valley which runs between them, varying in breadth from one half to three quarters of a mile. The declivity on each side is for the most part, a gentle slope, diversified by a number of undulating banks, which seem as if formed by the action of water, though the valley is at present destitute

of any stream. The ground is traversed by two high roads or causeways, both leading to Brussels, the one from Charleroi, through Genappe, and the other from Nivelles. On reaching the summit of the heights, these two roads unite at the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean, which is at some distance in the rear of the British position. The farm of Mont Saint Jean is closer to the rear, and another farmhouse called La Haye Sainte is situated upon the Charleroi causeway, near the foot of its descent from the heights. In the centre of the valley, about half way between the two ridges, and considerably to the right of the English centre, stood the Chateau de Goumont, or Hougoumont, an old-fashioned Flemish villa, with a tower and species of battlement. It was bounded on one side by a large farm-yard; and on the other, it opened to a garden, fenced by a brick wall, and an exterior hedge and ditch: the whole was encircled by an open grove of tall beech trees, covering a space of three or four acres.

The British army, which, deducting its losses at Quatre-Bras, did not exceed 65,000 men, with 120 pieces of artillery, was drawn up in two lines. The right wing, commanded by Lord Hill, consisted of the 2nd and 4th English divisions, under Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton, and Major General Hinuber, the third and sixth Hanoverians, and the first Belgians: its extremity was stationed at Merke-Braine, where it was protected by an

enclosed country and deep ravines. The chateau of Hougoumont, which stood in front of the centre of this wing, formed a very strong advanced post. The chateau and garden were occupied by the light companies of the Guards, under Lord Saltoun and Col. Macdonnell; and the wood or park, by the sharpshooters of Nassau. At the commencement of the action the right wing presented the convex segment of a circle to the enemy; but as the French gave ground, the extreme right came gradually round, and the curve being reversed, became concave, enfilading the field of battle, and the high road from Brussels to Charleroi which intersects it. The centre, under the Prince of Orange, was stationed in front of Mont Saint Jean: it was composed of the Brunswick and Nassau troops, with the Guards under Major General Cooke, and the 3rd English division, commanded by Sir Charles Alten. The farm of La Haye Sainte served as a key to the centre: it was fortified as well as the time permitted, and strongly garrisoned with Hanoverians. The left wing consisted of the 5th and 6th divisions under Sir Thomas Picton, with Generals Kempt, Lambert, and Pack. It extended to Ter la Haye, which it occupied, and the defiles of which protected its extremity, and prevented it from being turned: its extreme flank reached the hamlet of Smouhen, where it was sufficiently covered by buildings, inclosures, ravines, and thickets. From

hence a road runs to Ohain, and the woody passes of St. Lambert, through which the Duke of Wellington kept up a communication with the Prussian army at Wavre. The front line was composed of the *elite* of the army—the second was placed behind the declivity of the heights in the rear—the cavalry were principally posted in the rear of the left of the centre, and the artillery on the heights in front. In case of disaster, the Wood of Soignies lay within two mles, and its verge might, by a few resolute troops, be defended against almost any force.

The amount of the French army on the heights of La Belle Alliance has been variously stated. We conceive it could not have been less than ninety or more than one hundred thousand men;*

* The Prussian official account of the battle stated the French army at 120,000, but this must have evidently included Grouchy's corps which had been detached against Wavre. On the other hand some French writers have stated its amount at a much lower standard than that at which we have fixed it. We are inclined to let the decision of the question rest on Napoleon's bulletin, so far as it respects the strength of his own army. He says, "We estimated the force of the English army at 80,000 men. We supposed that the Prussian corps, *which might be in line towards the right, might be* 15,000 men. The enemy's force, then, was upwards of 90,000 men, *our's less numerous.*" The obvious conclusion is that his army must have amounted to what we have stated. On the other hand it appears from the returns made to the Adjutant General's office, that the number of troops under the Duke of Wellington's command at the battle of Waterloo did not exceed 65,000; nor did any Prussian corps co-operate with him till nearly the close of the action, as will appear in the sequel.

and near three hundred pieces of cannon accompanied this powerful force. The 2d corps formed the left wing of the army, under the command of Prince Jerome, (the ex-king of Westphalia.) It leaned its right upon the road to Brussels, and its left upon a small wood within cannon shot of the English army. The 1st corps was in the centre, under Counts Reille and D'Erlon, on the road to Brussels, and opposite the village of Mont St. Jean. The 6th corps, under Count Lobau, with the cavalry of General D'Aumont, was kept in reserve, and destined to proceed in rear of the right, to oppose the Prussian corps as soon as they should make their appearance on the left of the British. The cavalry and the Guards were in reserve in the rear. The French line extended two miles, that of the English only a mile and a half. In such a confined theatre was this terrible battle to be fought, and this may, in a great measure, account for its sanguinary consequences.

A short time before the conflict began, Napoleon again ascended an eminence, upon which an observatory had been lately erected by the King of the Netherlands, from whence he commanded the whole of both lines; and he seemed forcibly struck with the fine appearance of some of the British corps: "How steadily," said he to his aides-de-camp, "these troops take their ground! How beautifully those cavalry form! Observe those grey horse! (the Scotch Greys) Are they not noble

troops? Yet in half an hour I shall cut them to pieces." All the combinations for the attack were now made under his own eye with great skill and rapidity, being completely concealed from his antagonists by the nature of the ground.

The British army awaited with an anxiety unmixed with fear, the result of these mighty preparations.* Their illustrious chief had taken a

* Mr. Simpson in his 'Visit to Flanders,' furnishes us with the following illustration of what we have asserted in the text:—"An Irish officer recounted the effect of the wet *bivouack* on himself, in a manner which gives a striking view of the high feeling of the men who sustain in the field the honour of our country.—When he got up about six o'clock in the morning, he could not stand with a violent shivering, but fell down in the mud again. He made several efforts, but in vain. Without dreaming, when he recounted this circumstance, of an inference favourable to himself, which he was not aware that I was drawing, he described his feelings to be those of perfect agony, arising from the dread that he should not be able to do his duty. An hour or two, and a little brandy, revived him; and when he found he could stand, his relief of mind amounted to the most exquisite joy he ever felt in his life. The enemy was full in view; he distinctly heard the shout of "*Vive l'Empereur*," the signal for the tremendous onset; death was coming on in its most terrific aspect; in the gloom of the morning, the vast, broad and deep masses of the enemy, with their mighty reserves, yet further and further back, till they seemed to meet the horizon, appeared, as he expressed himself, as if the Forest of Soignies had changed its situation: yet did this fearless youth feel his heart leap for joy, when he found himself able for the honour of Ireland, to *stand up* to the coming storm; on higher principles yet, than the Oneida chief, "fearing but the shame of fear." In Paris, I heard an officer of the 95th with the same manly absence of self-gratulation, give a similar account of his own trials on the memorable dawn of Waterloo." The same

commanding station under a tree on the Brussels road, precisely in the centre of the British line, near the top of Mont St. Jean, from which every movement made or threatened, could, with the aid of an achromatic telescope, be distinctly seen, and every arrangement was adopted to meet the first onset of the foe, upon whatever point of the line it might be made. An officer, at this moment, on viewing the formidable forces of the enemy, expressed a wish that the Prussians were arrived. "The roads are heavy," replied his Grace, "they cannot be here before two or three o'clock, and my brave fellows will keep double that force at bay until then."

About eleven o'clock the troops were busily engaged in cooking some provisions to recruit their strength which was almost exhausted by long fasting and fatigue; but before they could partake of this refreshment, the voice of the aides-de-camps was heard in every quarter giving the solemn note of warning, "Stand to your arms! the French are moving!"* A furious cannonade in-

feelings no doubt animated the breasts of many an Irishman on that eventful day—for though only two regiments (the Enniskillen horse and foot) peculiarly Irish, were in the field, yet hundreds and thousands of our gallant countrymen fought in other corps, in the same ranks with their compatriots of England and Scotland.

* An aid-de-camp after making this announcement to a battalion of the Guards, added a caution that they should reserve their fire till the enemy were within a short distance. "Never mind us," answered a veteran guardsman, from the ranks,— "Never mind us, Sir, we know our duty."

stantly began; which soon spread along the whole line, and an immense array of French cuirassiers was seen sweeping across the plain to embarrass the British deployments. But this first essay was checked by a brilliant charge of the Life Guards and Oxford Blues, which in a moment put the enemy to flight. The 2d corps of the French army, in three divisions, now advanced towards the British right, it being the first object of Napoleon to get possession of the Chateau of Hougoumont, the occupation of which would have greatly facilitated his efforts to turn this wing. Prince Jerome advanced to the assault of this important post at the head of ten thousand men; but after a vigorous contest with the Nassau troops for possession of the wood, he was compelled to retreat. The attack was almost instantly renewed by an equal force under General Foy, whose furious onset succeeded in driving the Nassau troops from the wood, and the chateau itself must have been carried but for the desperate bravery of the light companies of the Guards by whom it was defended. A French officer and a few of his men actually forced their way into the court-yard where Colonel Macdonnell fought hand to hand with the assailants; and it was owing to an exertion of personal strength, on the part of this gallant officer, that the gates of the chateau were closed against the enemy. Hougoumont now became completely invested, but its valiant defenders resolved to avail

themselves to the utmost of the walls and deep ditches by which it was surrounded. The assailants made the most furious efforts to force the barriers, but every attempt was defeated by the rapid and well-directed fire of the British. At one time the French rushed dauntlessly through a hedge which they conceived to be the barrier of the garden; but this exterior boundary only masked a garden wall, which was loop-holed and scaffolded, and all who penetrated through this opening were instantly shot. A furious contest raged, at the same time, in the orchard, every avenue of which was strewed with the dead or wounded. Finding all other means to penetrate the chateau unavailing, the French brought up some howitzers, the shells from which soon set the houses on fire, together with a large hay-stack in the court-yard, and horrible to contemplate! numbers of the wounded of both parties, who were laid indiscriminately in one of the out-houses, perished in the flames. Yet the intrepid defenders of Hougoumont, though surrounded by this assemblage of horrors, refused to yield; but when they were driven by the flames into the garden, they maintained the combat through the remainder of the day, under Colonels Woodford and Macdonnell, and never permitted the enemy to advance beyond its precincts. The sanguinary nature of this dreadful combat may be appreciated from the fact, that more than two thousand dead and wounded lay around this post in a very short space of time.

The partial success of the enemy in getting possession of the wood, which in a great measure separated Hougoumont from the British line, favoured a desperate attack which was made by the remainder of Prince Jerome's corps on Lord Wellington's right wing. This movement was conducted in the most formidable style of French tactics, the preparations being carried on under cover of the clouds of smoke which were driven from the burning houses towards the British position. Artillery dexterously placed, and admirably served, and swarms of sharp-shooters, endeavoured by their fire to thin the ranks, and distract the attention of the opposing battalions. Heavy bodies of cuirassiers and lancers advanced, supported by dense columns of infantry marching with shouldered muskets to take advantage of the first impression made by the cavalry, to rush forward, and complete the destruction of the broken ranks of the British by musketry and the bayonet. The British chief was aware that Napoleon would resort to this his favourite mode of attack, and he was prepared to meet it. He had formed his battalions into separate squares, each side of which was four men deep, and the squares were arranged alternately like the spots on a chess-board, so that each of those in the rear covered the interval between two of them in front. It was impossible that this formation could be broken by cavalry, if

the men stood firm ; for in the event of their venturing between the squares they were necessarily exposed to an exterminating fire in front and on both flanks. The artillery was placed in the intervals of the line of squares, while light infantry, yagers, and sharp-shooters, detached in front, skirmished with the French tirailleurs, and preserved the battalions in a great measure from their desultory but destructive fire.

This mode of formation presented such an apparent inequality of numbers to the eye, that a spectator unacquainted with military tactics would not have supposed it possible that these small detached black masses could have resisted for a moment the furious torrent that seemed about to overwhelm them. The cuirassiers and lancers rushed on with a noise and clamour which seemed to unsettle the firm earth over which they galloped, and made a tremendous dash on the Guards and Brunswickers, but the steady appearance of these troops soon checked their ardor. Repulsed at the first onset by a destructive volley fired at ten yards distance, the cuirassiers used every effort of the most determined valour to throw those immoveable phalanxes into disorder. As if reckless of life they galloped up to the very bayonets, cut at the soldiers over their muskets, and fired their pistols at the officers. Others rode at random between the squares, and were mowed down by the crossing fires, or by repeated attacks of the British

cavalry, who rushed at intervals from the rear, and carried havoc through the enemy's ranks; while those squadrons which, less daring, stood at gaze, were swept off in hundreds by the British artillery, which was never in higher order, or more distinguished for excellent practice than on this memorable day.* Still undismayed, fresh squadrons of the enemy pressed on with desperate courage, or if the cavalry attacks were suspended for a moment, it was only to give place to the operations of their celebrated artillery, which, at one hundred yards distance, played on the British squares with the most destructive execution. The cuirassiers, meantime, waited like birds of prey to dash at any point where the slaughter should make the

* A letter from an officer of the Grenadier Guards contains the following interesting anecdote, as illustrative of the manner in which this branch of the service was attended to, as well as an honourable acknowledgment of the valor of the enemy. "Major Lloyd of the artillery, with another officer, was obliged to take refuge in our square at the time these charges were made, being unable to continue longer at their posts. There was a gun between our battalion and the Brunswickers, which had been drawn back: this Major Lloyd and his friend discharged five or six times at the French cavalry, alternately loading it and retiring to the square as circumstances required. We could see the French knocked off their horses as fast as they came up, and one cannot refuse to call them men of singular gallantry; one of them indeed, an officer of the Imperial Guards, seeing a gun about to be discharged at his companions, rode at it, and never allowed its fire to be repeated while he lived. He was at length killed by a Brunswick rifleman, and certainly saved a part of his regiment by this act of self-devotion."

slightest opening; but their intrepid opponents closing their files, with stern composure, over the bodies of their dead and dying comrades, still presented to their view that compact array of battle which rendered every new effort to disorder it abortive. During the interval of the cavalry attacks, the squares sought protection from the murderous effects of the French artillery, by deploying into a line four deep, and lying on the ground; but in many instances they had scarcely time to perform this evolution, when they were again called upon to re-form square, to oppose fresh charges. The promptitude and coolness with which these manœuvres were executed, at length convinced the enemy of the rashness of their enterprise, and the battle slackened in this quarter to rage with greater fury on other points of the line. The right continued still exposed to a severe cannonade, but the interval of comparative tranquillity was seized to reinforce with six companies of the Guards under Colonel Hepburn, the brave garrison of Hougoumont, which succeeded in driving back Foy's division, and regaining possession of the wood.

Defeated in his object of turning the right wing, and establishing himself on the road to Nivelles, Napoleon now organized the whole of his forces for a combined attack with all arms, on the centre and left of the British position, which, if successful, would cut it in two, separate the British army from that of the Prussians, and make him master of the

road to Brussels. Preceded by the fire of their immense artillery and numerous sharp-shooters, vast columns of infantry and cavalry were seen moving across the plain to charge on different points at the same moment; and while a strong body advanced to the attack of La Haye Sainte, the key of the British centre, which they speedily invested, another pressed on towards the heights of Mont St. Jean, and a third moved on Ter la Haye to the left of the position, where the 5th and 6th British divisions were posted, with some Belgians, and a brigade of heavy dragoons, under the command of Sir Thomas Picton. The mode of attack on this point, was of the most tremendous description, and was intended on the part of the French to be a battle of cavalry and cannon. Headed by the iron-clad cuirassiers, on whose mail the musket balls were heard to ring as they glanced off, without injuring the wearers, the French infantry ascended the heights where the remnant of Pack's gallant brigade, (the Royal Scots, 42d, 44th, and 92d regiments,) were posted. Some Belgian troops were forced to give way before the rapid onset of the enemy, but the Duke of Wellington who happened to be in that part of the field, moved up the British brigade to a kind of natural embrazure, formed by a hedge and bank in front of the line, and from thence the brave Highlanders and their comrade regiments gave the enemy a reception similar to that which they had experienced from the

Guards and Brunswickers on the right. Sir Thomas Picton now advanced to support this corps with Sir James Kempt's brigade, composed of the 28th, 32d, 79th, and 95th regiments. Vast masses of French infantry had arrived at this time, behind the very hedge where the British were posted—their muskets were almost muzzle to muzzle, and a French mounted officer attempted to seize the colours of the 32d, when General Picton suddenly resolved on becoming the assailant, and promptly forming his division into squares, he rushed through the hedge, and attacked the advancing columns of infantry and cavalry with charged bayonets.—Appalled by this almost unparalleled act of intrepidity, the enemy hesitated, fired a volley, and fled; but that volley proved fatal to one of the noblest commanders of whom the British army could boast. A musket ball struck the right temple of the gallant Picton, which went through the brain, and in a moment numbered him with the dead.*

* Sir Thomas Picton was a native of Pembrokeshire. He had just attained his 57th year, and had served forty-five years in the army, having received his first commission in 1771, as ensign in the 12th regiment of foot. He was first employed, in active service in the West Indies, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie in 1796, and there rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the 68th. He was appointed Governor of Trinidad in 1797, and during his administration an occurrence took place, which gave rise to some foul aspersions on his character; but these were fully rebutted by his honourable acquittal by a British Jury, and notwithstanding the malicious persecution which he underwent from a few individuals, the inhabitants of

But notwithstanding this disastrous event, the division maintained its irresistible charge under the

Trinidad were so sensible of the benefits which he had conferred on the island during his government, that they voted him £5000, as a testimony of their esteem and gratitude. But when some time after, their capital was destroyed by an accidental fire, Sir Thomas devoted the £5000 which he had received from them to the relief of the unfortunate inhabitants. As his services during the Peninsular war, have been so copiously detailed in our preceding volumes, it is sufficient here to say, that they were of so valuable a nature as to acquire for him the honourable title of "Wellington's right hand." He joined the army in Flanders at the particular request of the Duke, and only took the command of the brave 5th division the day before the battle of Quatre Bras, upon which occasion he received a dangerous wound, which he concealed from all, except his faithful valet.

We trust the following lines on the death of Sir Thomas Picton, will be considered an appropriate conclusion of this short biographical sketch. They are from the classical pen of Sir Aubrey De Vere Hunt, Bart.

O! give to the Hero, the death of the brave,—
On the field, where the might
Of his deeds shed a light,
Through the gloom that o'er shadows the grave.

Let him not be laid on the feverish bed,
There to waste through the day,
Like a taper away,
And live, till the spirit be dead.

O no! let him lie on Fame's death-bed of pride:
On the hoof-beaten strand,
With a sword in his hand,
And a fresh-welling wound in his side.

No!—not with the stealth of disease should he die—
He should bound o'er the flood
Of his fame and his blood,
To the glory that waits him on high!

Such fate, gallant Picton, was thine—when the few
Who survived thee in fight,
Won the day by the light
That thy deeds shed around WATERLOO.

conduct of Sir James Kempt, till they repulsed the enemy from the crest of the hill to which they had nearly attained.

Before the French had time to recover from the effects of this furious attack, a brigade of heavy British dragoons, commanded by Sir William Ponsonby, wheeled round the extremity of the cross-road, full on the flank of the foe. It was composed of the Royals, Greys, and Enniskillens—England, Scotland, and Ireland in high rivalry and irresistible union. The 92d Highlanders, (now reduced to two hundred men,) had at this moment pierced the centre of a column of French infantry of as many thousands, and the Greys dashing in at the opening, the two regiments cheered each other, shouting “Scotland for ever!” The cuirassiers and lancers now advanced to save their infantry, and the Greys being reinforced by the Royals and Enniskillen dragoons, one of the most dreadful cavalry engagements recorded in the history of modern warfare ensued. The far-famed cuirassiers maintained a long and murderous struggle against the British dragoons, in which some extraordinary feats of dexterity and courage were displayed. The impenetrable armour of the French, gave them a decided advantage over their antagonists, who could only strike at their neck or limbs. But after numbers of them were cut down, they were at length forced to yield to the determined valour and superior strength of the British men

and horses. The cuirassiers and lancers fled in confusion, abandoning their artillery and infantry, while nearly 3000 prisoners, two eagles,* and several pieces of cannon, rewarded the prowess of the victors.

The exultation which the success of this gallant brigade was calculated to inspire, received a severe check, by the fall of their intrepid leader, Sir Wil-

* One of the eagles was taken by Serjeant Ewart of the Scotch Greys, who was rewarded for his gallantry by a commission; the other by Corporal Francis Styles, of the 1st (Royal) Dragoons. Serjeant Ewart thus describes the particulars of his noble exploit. "We charged through two of the French columns, each about five thousand; it was in the first charge I took the eagle from the enemy; he and I had a hard contest for it; he thrust for my groin—I parried it off, and cut him through the head; after which I was attacked by one of their lancers, who threw his lance at me, but missed the mark by my throwing it off with my sword by my right side; then I cut him from the chin upwards, which went through his teeth. Next I was attacked by a foot soldier, who after firing at me charged me with his bayonet—but he very soon lost the combat, for I parried it, and cut him down through the head; so that finished the contest for the eagle. After which I presumed to follow my comrades, eagle and all, but was stopped by the General, saying to me, "you, brave fellow, take that to the rear: you have done enough until you get quit of it;" which I was obliged to do, but with great reluctance. I took the eagle to Brussels, amidst the acclamations of thousands who saw it." The eagles taken belonged to the 45th and 105th regiments, and were superbly gilt, and ornamented with gold fringe. That of the 45th was inscribed with the names of Jena, Austerlitz, Wagram, Eylau, Friedland, &c. where this regiment, called the *Invincibles*, had signalized themselves. The other was a present from Maria Louisa to the 105th.

liam Ponsonby. After the enemy had fled, he galloped forward, attended by an aid-de-camp, to restrain the rashness of some of his men, whose impetuous valour had hurried them too far in the pursuit: but on entering a newly ploughed field where the ground was exceedingly soft, and being badly mounted, his horse sunk in the mire, and was utterly unable to extricate himself. At this unfortunate juncture, a body of Polish lancers approached him at full speed, and Sir William perceiving that his fate was decided, took out a picture and his watch, which he was in the act of handing to the aid-de-camp to be delivered to his family, when the lancers came up, and killed them both. His body was found lying by the side of his horse, and pierced with seven lance wounds. But before the day was closed, the Polish lancers (whose cruelty was noticed in numerous instances) were almost to a man exterminated by the brave brigade which he had led to victory. Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton of the Greys, also fell at the head of his gallant regiment.*

Napoleon from his commanding station near La Belle Alliance, viewed the progress of this mighty struggle, and the valorous but fruitless efforts which

* Mr. Simpson relates a characteristic anecdote of one of the Greys during this singular combat. A cuirassier on the point of being cut down suddenly changed his politics, and cried "*Vive le Roi.*" "Gude faith," said his pursuer in purest Scotch, "gif you cry that ye shud na be here."

his devoted followers were making to secure the victory. The intrepid conduct of the British is said to have frequently called forth his eulogiums, and observing how the chasms were filled up the instant they were made by the French artillery, he exclaimed to Soult, his Lieutenant-General, "*Qu'elles braves troupes! comme ils travaillent! tres-bien!*"—"What brave troops! how they go through their work! admirable, admirable!"* adding, "but they must give way." "No, Sire!" replied Soult, "they prefer being cut to pieces." But Napoleon was resolved to continue the experiment, regardless of the loss of his brave soldiers, or the risque of his own military reputation.—To the intelligence of every fresh repulse, his only reply was, *Avant! Avant!* Forward! Forward! Acting on this principle, the defeat of his troops on the right and left, led him to adopt the most desperate efforts to break through the centre, in front of which La Haye Sainte was still vigorously defended by the Hanoverian light troops. This farm-house formed one side of a square, and its offices the other three, the court-yard in the middle serv-

* La Coste who attended Napoleon as a guide, tells us in his Narrative, that the Emperor seemed intent on his military command during the whole of the day. He held a map of the scene of action in his left hand, and took snuff incessantly out of his waistcoat with his right. His dress consisted of a grey surtout, with a green uniform coat, and as the badge of his party, a violet coloured waistcoat and pantaloons.

ing for collecting the manure and sheltering the cattle. At each end of the court-yard stood a large door or gate, through which the besiegers and besieged fired at each other with dreadful effect.— Napoleon now ordered fresh reinforcements to this important point, which the Hanoverians used the most heroic efforts to maintain. Even when their last cartridge was expended, they kept up an unequal contest with their swords and bayonets through the windows and embrasures, till the increasing numbers of the enemy enabled them to storm the farm-house; but the resistance of the gallant Germans did not cease till nearly their last man had ceased to breathe, and the whole building presented a scene of shattered ruin, which could not be looked upon without a degree of interest truly terrific.

The French had for some hours kept up a violent cannonade on the centre of the British line, but now having established a post on the causeway, Napoleon ordered his Generals to direct their main force against that part of the British position, which had become exposed. His numerous artillery, cuirassiers, and lancers, again rushed on, followed by masses of infantry, and soon cleared the front of the line of the sharp-shooters. They ascended the heights with their usual ardor, and some of the foreign battalions were forced to yield to their furious onset. They now precipitated their columns upon the road leading to Mont St. Jean, under a fire of their artillery, which was cal-

culated to sweep away every obstacle that impeded their course. But the second line of the British was in some degree protected by the ridge of the hill, behind which it was posted, from the direct fire of the enemy, though not from the effect of their shells, which fell in showers, while the first line derived some advantage from a straggling hedge which partly reached their centre and left, though it could be penetrated by cavalry in every direction. The 3d division, commanded by Sir Charles Alten, was stationed at this point. It consisted of the 30th, 33d, 69th, and 73d regiments, and eight Hanoverian battalions, and they nobly supported the honour of their respective countries. They resisted for hours the varied attacks of the enemy's cavalry and artillery, and a somewhat particular description of the kind of conflict sustained by a square composed of the 30th and 73d, commanded by Sir Colin Halket, may afford some idea of this extraordinary species of combat. To no square did the French artillery and cuirassiers pay more frequent visits, so that the soldiers began almost to recognize the faces of these messengers of death. Sometimes they galloped up to the very points of the bayonet; at other times, confiding in their armour, they fearlessly walked their horses round this bulwark of steel, that they should have more time to seek some chasm in the ranks at which they might rush in. General Halket, perceiving that the balls made little impression on those mail-clad

men, ordered the soldiers to aim at the horses, as when the horse was brought down, the rider uniformly became a prisoner. By the imperturbable constancy of these two gallant corps, the cuirassiers were repeatedly driven off, and upon each of these occasions line was promptly formed to give the flying foe a more effective volley, or to render the enemy's artillery less destructive to themselves. When again the storm was seen gathering and rolling on, the command to re-form square, prepare to receive cavalry, was promptly and accurately obeyed. In a moment the whole were prostrate on their breasts, to let the iron-shower fly over, and they were erect in an instant, when the cannon ceased, and the cavalry charged. At one period of the combat, the commander of the cuirassiers attempted to throw this invincible phalanx off their guard by a *ruse-de-guerre*, by lowering his sword to Sir Colin Halket, and several of the officers cried out, "Sir, they surrender."—But the British General, justly suspecting that a body of well-mounted cavalry would not surrender to a corps fixed to the spot in a defensive position, made no other reply than, "Be firm—fire;" and the volley put the colonel and his cuirassiers to flight, with a laugh of derision from the men he meant to cut in pieces. The illustrious Wellington, who was ever to be found in that part of the field where the battle raged with greatest fury, paid frequent visits to this distinguished square.

Upon one of these occasions he enquired, "How they were?" Their commander replied, that nearly two-thirds of their number had fallen,* and the rest were so exhausted, that it might be attended with advantage if one of the foreign corps who had not suffered would take their station even for a short time. The reply of the Duke was, "It is impossible! the issue of the battle depends on the unflinching front of the British troops; you and I and every Englishman in the field must die on the spot we now occupy." "Enough, my Lord," said Sir Colin Halket, "we stand here till the last man falls." And, though himself severely wounded, this brave man would no doubt have kept his word, had not the British cavalry soon flown to his relief.†

*On entering the field, the 30th numbered 619 men, and the 73d, 568; the loss of the former was 279, and that of the latter 386.

† We are indebted to Mr. Simpson's interesting "Visit to Flanders," for most of the particulars relative to the conduct of the distinguished square, under the command of Sir Colin Halket, and we subjoin an anecdote in the author's own words, which, as he justly remarks, affords "a gleam of the gentler affections, which gilds an interval of the empire of the sternest virtues in the warrior's bosom:"—"In the midst of their dangers, this band of heroes had their attention called to a very affecting scene of private friendship. Two of the officers were the more closely attached to each other, that they were not on terms of perfectly good understanding with the rest of the mess, owing to their having opposed some arrangements which it was expected would be attended with expense; and at the same time concealed, most

The Duke of Wellington now felt that the critical situation of affairs called for all his energies, and they were exerted with decisive effect. Wherever danger pressed he was to be found, and the appearance of his staff and retinue invariably drew on him the fire of the enemy's artillery and sharpshooters. It has been truly said of him, that on

delicately, the real ground of their opposition to the general voice, that they had each two sisters to support. The similarity of their circumstances, most naturally cemented their friendship, which was quite a bye-word in the regiment. After doing their duty calmly through nearly the whole of the sanguinary day, they found themselves both unhurt at a late hour in the evening, when one of them playfully called to the other, who stood at a little distance, "I always told you they would never hit me; they never did it in Spain, and they have not done it to-day." He had hardly spoken when he was shot dead on the spot. His friend stood for a few moments motionless—then burst into tears—flew to the body, threw himself down beside it, and sobbed over it, inarticulately repeating several times, "My only friend!" The officer who related the affecting story, told me, that so completely did the scene overcome every one who witnessed it, there was not a dry eye among them."

Mr. Simpson also relates the following instance of individual heroism :—"General Halket had a brother in the field, who was colonel of a Hanoverian corps. A trait of heroism is related of him, which has few examples in modern warfare, and is not exceeded by the far-famed achievement of Robert Bruce in his short combat with Sir Henry Bohun, in that memorable battle which stood foremost on history's brightest page, till Waterloo was fought. A French general was giving his orders with great confidence to a large body of troops, and had come to their front unattended. Colonel Halket made a dash at him at full gallop; and putting a pistol to his breast, seized his horse's reins, and brought him from the very beards of his wonder-struck soldiers."

this memorable day, "he was not only commander-in-chief, but general of brigade, and colonel of a regiment: ready not only to command the general manœuvres, but to direct the particular mode in which they were to be executed;—above all, to inspire the troops with prudence by his precept, and valour by his example. He brought up to the charge, in person, regiments who were giving ground, or confirmed by his presence those who stood fast, and repeatedly retired into the centre of the squares, when about to be charged by the cavalry." Many of his short but encouraging phrases had a talismanic effect on the men.—Riding up to the 95th, when in front of the line, awaiting a formidable charge of cavalry, he exclaimed, "Stand fast, 95th—we must not be beat—what will they say in England?" To another regiment, when fiercely engaged, he said, "Hard pounding this, gentlemen; let's see who will pound longest. Never mind, we'll win this battle yet."

The security of the British line became at this time extremely critical; several of the regiments, having no longer a sufficient number of men left to form square, were obliged to receive the cavalry in line, in order to cover the necessary space of ground. A close column of French infantry now pressed forward to carry the village of Mont St. Jean in the rear of the British centre: some gallant charges from the British and German hussars and light dragoons, threw the advancing column into disorder. In these the 12th Light Dragoons

were particularly conspicuous, and their brave leader, the Honourable Colonel Ponsonby, was severely wounded, and almost miraculously preserved after having lain for many hours amongst the slain. The Hussars displayed their usual courage, but notwithstanding the heroic exertions of the Earl of Uxbridge, their light blood horses were forced to give way to the ponderous rush of the cuirassiers; and some of the light regiments suffered considerably on this occasion. At this critical moment, the Household Brigade, composed of the Life Guards, Oxford Blues, and 1st Dragoon Guards, led on by Sir John Elley, at his own request, made a charge on the French cavalry, which was productive of the most tremendous effects. The weight and armour of the cuirassiers proved ineffectual against the shock of this splendid and irresistible brigade—they were literally ridden down upon the field—hundreds were driven headlong into a quarry or gravel pit, where they rolled a confused and undistinguishable mass of men and horses,* till the fire of the cavalry and artillery put a period to their sufferings. Those who for some time stood

* One of the Life-Guards-men remarked in homely, but emphatic language, that “they were cracked like lobsters in their shells.” British spirit was never at a greater height, than upon this occasion :—Passing the 95th, who were at this time keeping up a heavy fire upon the enemy, the Life-Guards exclaimed, “Bravo ! Ninety-fifth, do you *lather* them, and we’ll *shave* them.”

The following glowing picture of the scene from the heights of Belle Alliance, at this period of the battle, and particularly as

their ground, proved also the superior strength of the British soldiers with whom they fought hand to hand. A corporal of the Life Guards, named Shaw, well known as a pugilist, and equally formidable as a swordsman, slew or disabled ten of the cuirassiers with his own hand, before he was killed by a musket or pistol shot. The officers as well as the men of this heroic band, were closely engaged in individual combat with the enemy. Sir John Elley, who was remarkable for his strength, his horsemanship, and skill in the use of his sword, performed

it regards the effects of the British artillery, is from the pen of a French writer, who was an eye witness of this day of horrors. "The English artillery made dreadful havock in our ranks: we were so completely exposed, that their *ricochets* passed easily through all our lines, and fell in the midst of our equipage, which was placed behind on the road and its environs. A number of shells too burst among them, and rendered it indispensable for the train to retire to a greater distance. This was not done without considerable disorder, which the English clearly perceived. Our artillery opened their fire with equal vivacity, but probably with much less effect, as their masses could only be levelled against, by approximation, being almost entirely masked by the inequalities of the ground. The continued detonation of more than six hundred pieces of artillery; the fire of the battalions and light troops; the frequent explosion of caissons, blown up by shells which reached them; the hissing of balls and grape-shot—the clash of arms—the impetuous noise of the charges, and shouts of the soldiery—all created an effect of sound which the pen is unable to describe: and all this within a narrow space, the two armies being close to each other, and their lines contracted into the shortest length possible.—" *Relation de la Dernière Campagne de Buonaparte.*

feats of valour that would have done honour to the days of chivalry, and being at one period of the combat, surrounded by six or seven of the cuirassiers, he, though severely wounded, cut his way through them, leaving three or four of his assailants dead behind him, their wounds bearing striking indications of the unusual strength of the arm which inflicted them. Colonel Ferrier of the 1st Life Guards fell on this memorable occasion. He had led his regiment to the charge no less than eleven times ; and most of the charges were not made till after his head had been laid open by the cut of a sabre, and his body was pierced with a lance. Major Packe, of the Royal Horse Guards, was also particularly distinguished. He had been among the first to dash into the ranks of the enemy, and he and his opponent having dismounted each other, he mounted on a troop horse, and in the second charge led his squadron against a column of cuirassiers. He killed the officer commanding the column, but he himself was the next moment run through the body, and numbered with the slain. Colonel Fuller and Major Bringhurst of the 1st Dragoon Guards, met a similar fate. The results of this brilliant charge were most important—the enemy were driven in confusion from the heights, with the loss of 1200 prisoners, and great numbers killed ; and the gallant victors followed up their success till the farm of La Haye Sainte was retaken, and the British again re-established in the positions

which they occupied before the attack. The Duke of Wellington could with difficulty restrain the impetuosity of his troops, who, after standing for so many hours exposed to the most furious charges, now eagerly demanded to be led against the enemy. "Not yet, not yet, my brave fellows!" was the Duke's reply: "Be firm a little longer; you shall have at them by and bye."

Indeed the patience of the illustrious chief as well as that of his heroic followers, must have been put to the severest test. The combat had continued for six hours with unabated fury, and one-fourth of the allied troops were killed or wounded, while the remainder were worn out with fatigue, and destitute of the smallest refreshment. It would be impossible, under such circumstances, but that the spirits of the men must droop. In fact, during the intervals of the cavalry attacks, while the French artillery was spreading havock in the British ranks, an indifference to life seemed spreading fast among the soldiery, though on the near approach of the enemy they became as alert as ever. Yet Lord Wellington remained cool, and apparently cheerful, determined to maintain the contest while one regiment continued firm at its post. An aid-de-camp coming up with the intelligence that the 5th and 6th divisions who were posted on the left, were nearly destroyed, and that it was utterly impossible that they could maintain

their ground.* "I cannot help it," said he, "they must keep their ground: would to God that Blucher or night were come!" Could his anxiety for the glory of his country have given place for a moment to the kindlier feelings of our nature, his Grace must have felt much at the havoc which the sword had made among his numerous personal staff, many of whom ranked as his intimate friends. All were either killed or wounded in this sanguinary conflict, but the Spanish General Alava. Many of them expired with a magnanimity not exceeded by any of the heroes of antiquity—and the glorious achievement to the accomplishment of which they sacrificed their lives, will cause their names to be embalmed in the recollections of a grateful country. Sir William De Lancey, the Quartermaster-General, fell while rallying a battalion of Hanoverians who had got into confusion. Feeling that his wound was mortal, he insisted that the soldiers who rushed forward to bear him in their arms to the rear, should leave him to his fate, and give their aid to those who might again be able to fight the battles of their country. He was, however, found alive the next morning, and removed to Waterloo, where he lingered six days before he

* Sir John Lambert's brigade of the 6th division, suffered dreadfully from the enemy's artillery, without having it in its power to return a shot. It was posted near the extreme left, and consisted of the 4th, 27th, and 40th regiments, who had lately returned from America. The 27th lost 478 men, the 40th, 219.

died, attended by his affectionate lady, to whom he had been but lately married. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Alexander Gordon, brother to the Earl of Aberdeen, received his death-wound while remonstrating with the Duke on the danger to which he exposed his invaluable life. Lieutenant-Colonel Canning of the 3d Foot Guards, who had long enjoyed the intimate friendship of Lord Wellington, having accompanied him as his aid-de-camp through all the Peninsular War, and now filled the same honorable but hazardous situation, was also amongst the sufferers. He had been sent by the Duke with an important message to a distant part of the line. On his return, a grape-shot struck him: he fell, and his friend the Earl of March, (now Duke of Richmond) rode up to his assistance. On perceiving his approach, the Colonel made an effort to raise himself, and asked with eagerness, if the Duke was safe? Being answered that he was, a transient smile beamed on his pallid countenance; "God bless him!" said the expiring hero. He then took his noble friend by the hand, and faintly articulating, "and God bless you!" expired. Lord March had soon to witness another scene equally affecting in the death of the Honorable Captain Curzon of the 69th Foot, the son of Lord Scarsdale. Though only in his 25th year, he had seen much service in the Peninsula. On this memorable day he was attached to the staff of the Prince of Orange, and while riding

with the Earl of March in the performance of his duty, he received a ball in the chest, and instantly fell, exclaiming, "Good bye, dear March!" After paying all the attention to his dying friend which a warm attachment could suggest, duty called his Lordship to form and animate some Nassau troops to resist a menaced charge from the French cavalry. Captain Curzon noticed these exertions, and with a heroic love of country, worthy of the proudest days of Greece or Rome, the expiring youth exclaimed, "Well done, dear March!" and closed his eyes for ever.

While the battle was thus raging in the centre, the 2nd corps under Prince Jerome, had renewed their attacks upon the right wing. The post of Hougoumont which had received repeated reinforcements from the division of Guards, had never ceased to be the object of the most desperate assaults; but its brave garrison maintained it to the last, and the loss of the French in this attack alone, is estimated in Sir John Sinclair's account, at 10,000 men. In the early part of the action, the extreme right, consisting of the 2d and 4th divisions, was protected by deep ravines from the charges of the enemy; but Sir Frederick Adam's brigade of the 2d, composed of the 52d, 71st, and a battalion of the 95th, who were close to the right of the centre, were for two hours exposed to a dreadful fire of artillery, without being able to discharge a musket at the enemy. This brigade had only

joined the army the preceding evening, and were so exhausted after a fatiguing march of two days, that the continued roar of cannon and bursting of shells was not sufficient to prevent several of the men from falling asleep, in which state many fell victims to the cannon balls which flew thickly around them. At length the French lancers made a dash at some artillery in their rear. The brigade were instantly on their feet, formed square, and repelled the enemy. The latter returned again and again to the charge, but, aided by the 18th light dragoons, who came up to their assistance, under Colonel Boyce, the brigade finally succeeded in putting them to the route.

It was now five o'clock, and the British, though dreadfully weakened, still gallantly maintained their position at every point—but some movements on the enemy's right now began to indicate that they were about to be supported in the unequal contest by their Prussian Allies, whose arrival had been so long and so ardently expected. In fact General Bulow with two brigades of infantry and a corps of cavalry, was then defiling by Ohain in the rear of the French army, after having encountered extraordinary difficulties in their passage through the Woods of St. Lambert.* But while

* The delay of the Prussians was not to be attributed to any want of zeal or energy on the part of the gallant Blücher, but to obstacles arising from the nature of the country through which he had to pass, as well as the difficulties which the detached corps of

Napoleon continued the main conflict against the British position, he opposed to this new enemy the 6th corps, under Count Lobau, and an engagement was immediately commenced in this quarter,

the French, under Grouchy and Vandamme, were enabled to oppose to his progress. This corps followed that of Thielman during the 17th, on his retreat from Sombref to Wavre, which that General was left to defend against the enemy, while Bulow was detached to the assistance of Lord Wellington, and was soon afterwards followed by Marshal Blucher himself with the remainder of his army. Soon after their departure Grouchy made a vigorous attack upon Wavre, but he met such an obstinate resistance as led him to believe that he was engaged with a large portion of the Prussian army. Part of the town on the right of the Dyle was soon carried, but General Girard was severely wounded, and Lieutenant-General Aix killed, in attempting to cross the bridge, which was repeatedly lost and gained before the enemy were able to establish themselves beyond it. At length, a French Colonel snatched the eagle of his regiment, crossed the bridge, and planted it on the opposite side. His corps followed with shouts of '*Vive l'Empereur*,' and although the gallant officer who thus led them was slain, his followers succeeded in carrying the village. Here Grouchy and Vandamme anxiously but vainly awaited their master's orders to march on Brussels, from whence they were now but six leagues distant. In the mean time, Marshal Blucher pressed his forces through the defiles which separated him from his Allies, the gallant veteran leading them on horseback notwithstanding the injuries he had received in the battle of the 16th. But though the distance was little more than twelve miles, the army with its artillery, could only file slowly along the cross-roads or tracts of St. Lambert, so that the sun was setting before his troops were seen issuing from the wood. The march was guided by an intelligent peasant, who had acquired some military knowledge, by having been compelled to serve as a conscript in the French army; and he so conducted it that it debouched from the woods near Frischermont, rather in the rear than on the flank of the French position.

but with little energy, as **Bulow** did not wish to undertake any thing serious till the arrival of **Marshal Blucher**.

Under other circumstances, **Napoleon**, as a prudent general, should at this moment, have discontinued the action, the whole of the Imperial Guard being still in reserve, who, considering the exhausted state of the **British**, would have been more than sufficient to cover his retreat on the **Dyle** and **Sambre**. But his recollection of the day of **Marengo**, where his reiterated efforts, after the battle had been to all appearance lost, secured him the victory, led him to hope for a similar triumph on this occasion, as on it alone rested his hopes of uniting the **French** nation in support of his throne. After reflecting for some moments on his critical situation, he determined again to attack the weakest part of the **British** line in great force; hoping to carry it before the remainder of the **Prussians** could arrive. He accordingly brought forward the whole of the cavalry of his guard, and directed it, supported by fresh masses of infantry, on the centre of the position.—Their first shock was irresistible; they ascended the heights, and thirty pieces of cannon fell into their power. But the presence of the **Duke of Wellington** quickly averted the dangers which now menaced the **British** army. Placing himself at the head of three battalions of **English**, and three of **Brunswickers**, he addressed them in a few animating sen-

tences, and then led them against the enemy, who were now proudly advancing to the very rear of his lines. In a moment victory was rescued from their grasp, they abandoned the artillery which they had taken, and fled with precipitation. The brave Prince of Orange received a musket-ball in his arm upon this occasion, while rallying some Belgian troops, who had shrunk from the overwhelming charge of the French.

During this conflict in the centre, Count Lobau had repulsed Bulow's advanced-guard, and driven them again into the woods; and Napoleon expressed the strongest confidence that Grouchy was moving in the same line with the Prussians, and would shortly arrive to his assistance. He therefore resolved to persevere in his exertions to carry the British position, notwithstanding the immense sacrifice of lives which was the consequence of every fresh attack; and so certain was he of success even at this advanced period of the battle, that he ordered his Secretary to send an express to Paris, saying, that the victory was his. About seven o'clock it was announced to him, that powerful bodies of Prussians were opening from the woods near Frischermont on his right flank, and threatening his rear, but he treated the aid-de-camps who brought the intelligence with contempt. "Be off," said he, "you are frightened; ride up to the columns that are deploying, and you will find that they are Grouchy's." All who obeyed his command were

killed or taken, and he was made sensible of his error, when the Prussians commenced an attack on his right wing. He still, however, believed that Grouchy must be as near to support as this new enemy was to attack him, and he caused General Labedoyere to circulate this opinion amongst the troops, with whom he now resolved to make a last grand effort. Having detached the whole of the reserves of the 6th corps, and the Young Guard, with one hundred pieces of cannon, against the Prussians, he brought forward fifteen thousand of the Imperial Guard, who remaining on the ridge of La Belle Alliance or behind it, had scarcely yet drawn a trigger in the action. He placed himself at the head of these celebrated troops, descended the hill, and led them till he reached a ravine, half-way between La Belle Alliance and La Haye Sainte, where he was protected from the fire of the British artillery.* Here his veteran Guards defiled before him for the last time. He addressed a few animat-

* La Coste, his guide, tells us that "Napoleon and his suite had been in great danger before arriving at this ravine: a ball even carried away the pommel of the saddle of one of his officers. Napoleon told him coolly that he ought to keep within the ravine. There were at this place batteries on both sides of the road—perceiving that one of the guns of the battery on the left was not making a good fire, he alighted from his horse, mounted on the height at the side of the road, and advanced to the third gun, which he rectified, while cannon and musket balls were whistling round him. He returned with tranquillity, with his hands in the pockets of his great-coat, and took his place among his officers."

ing words to them as they passed; pointed to the ridge which was to be the object of their attack, and reminded them that it was the road to Brussels.— He assured them that the British infantry and cavalry had been destroyed by the previous charges of their comrades, and that the heights were now only defended by the artillery, which might be carried by a *coup-de-main*. These exhortations were received by those brave and devoted troops with shouts of *En avant! en avant! Vive l'Empereur!*

The advanced guard of this formidable column was composed of four regiments of what was called the Middle Guard, and it was sustained by four regiments of the Old Guard, all veteran grenadiers. The Middle Guard was formed for attack in two columns; with an interval between them. The Old Guard was formed into squares to support them in case of success, or serve them for a rallying point, if repulsed; and the attacking columns were flanked by eight regiments of Horse Guards and other cavalry and tirailleurs, to protect their advance. Led on by Marshal Ney, they pressed forward with loud shouts and the clang of warlike music, over ground covered with heaps of slain, and slippery with blood; rallying in their progress such of the broken cavalry and infantry of the line as still maintained the combat. Such was the clamour, that the British believed that Napoleon himself would be the leader in this new

attack ; but they were not unprepared to meet it. The Duke of Wellington had not failed to improve the advantage which the repeated repulses of the enemy had given him. The extreme right of the line under Lord Hill,* had gradually gained ground after each unsuccessful charge on the right of the centre, until the space between Hougoumont and Braine-la-Leude being completely cleared of the enemy, this wing with its artillery and sharpshooters, was brought round from a convex to a concave position, so that their guns raked the enemy as they debouched upon the causeway. The service of the British artillery was upon this occasion so accurate and destructive, that the heads of the French columns were enfiladed and almost annihilated before they could reach the high road, so that they seemed for a considerable time advancing from the hollow-way without gaining ground on the plain. The enthusiasm of the Imperial Guard, however, enabled them to overcome this obstacle, as well as a charge of the gallant Brunswickers, which they repelled with considerable slaughter. They rushed up the heights with great

* This part of the line had hitherto, from its situation been less exposed to the enemy's charges than the other troops. It consisted of the divisions of Generals Clinton and Hinuber, which comprised the 14th, 23d, 51st, 52d, 71st, and 2d battalion of the 95th regiments, with eight Hanoverian battalions, brigaded under Sir Frederick Adam, Major-General Duplat, Colonels Mitchell and Halket.

spirit, at a point where the British Guards lay prostrate in a hollow, to avoid the destructive fire of the French artillery, by which the assault was covered. The Duke of Wellington had placed himself on a ridge behind them, declaring that he would never quit it but in triumph, and as soon as the Imperial Guard had approached within one hundred yards, he suddenly exclaimed, "Up Guards, and at them!" The French battalions appeared startled for a moment at the unexpected apparition of this fine body of men, who were drawn up in line four deep: but the French veterans soon recovering their composure, advanced at the charge-step, their artillery filing off to the right and left, till they were within twenty yards of their opponents, and on the point of dashing at them with their bayonets; when a volley was poured upon them by the British which literally drove them back with its shock: a second volley increased their confusion, and before they had time to deploy or manœuvre, the British cheered, and charged them with an effect that proved irresistible: not a Frenchman of the Imperial guard ventured to cross a bayonet with the household troops of Britain, but fled in disorder. The Duke himself at this crisis, brought up General Adam's brigade, the 52d, 71st, and 95th regiments on their flank, and completed the rout of the enemy. General Friant was killed, and Ney was knocked from his horse, but still, with sword in hand, he gallantly

endeavoured to rally his broken troops. A regiment of tirailleurs attempted to cover their retreat and attack the pursuers, but they fled from the very cheers of the British. The Old Guard had still preserved their squares, but they were now charged by the British cavalry, forced, and almost entirely cut to pieces, and their leader General Cambrone was taken prisoner.*

Napoleon beheld from his station in the ravine, the rout of his chosen troops. He talked of rallying them to make another effort, still persisting that Grouchy was at hand; but from this he was dissuaded by Bertrand and Drouet, who represented to him how much the fate of France and of the army

* The French author of "The Relation of Napoleon's last Campaign," from which we have already quoted, gives the following description of this terrific scene. "The Imperial Guard made several charges, but was constantly repulsed, crushed by a terrible artillery that each minute seemed to multiply. These invincible grenadiers beheld the grape-shot make day through their ranks; they closed promptly and coolly their shattered files; nothing intimidates them; nothing stops them but death or mortal wound; but the hour of defeat is sounded! Enormous masses of British infantry, supported by an immense cavalry, we had nothing to oppose to, (for our own had met its destruction) descend in fury, surround, and cry out to them to surrender.—"The Guard never surrenders: if called on, it dies!" was the reply. No more quarter is given, almost the whole fall fighting in desperation." The heroic reply of the Guard was said, in the French papers, to have been delivered by General Cambrone; but it is a singular fact that the General himself accepted quarter, and became a prisoner of war; nor does the expression appear to have been heard by any British officer present.

depended on his life. Hitherto he had shewn the utmost coolness and indifference throughout this eventful day; but when he observed his celebrated Guards recoil in disorder, the cavalry intermingled with the foot, and trampling them down, he said to his attendants, "*Ils sont mêlés ensemble,*" (they are mixed together,) shook his head, and retired to his former station on the heights of Belle Alliance, and on the advance of the British line, he exclaimed, "*A présent c'est fini—sauvons nous.*" (It is over for the present—let us save ourselves. He instantly left the field of battle, at about half-past eight o'clock, accompanied by five or six of his officers, and galloped along the road to Genappe.

No other course but flight now remained for him, in order to escape death or captivity. The Duke of Wellington had hitherto suffered no prospect of advantage to withdraw him from his position; but now the decisive moment was come for bringing this dreadful conflict to a termination.—The acuteness of his sight, enabled him to perceive the advance of the Prussians in great force on the enemy's right flank, while the ruinous disorder in which the French fled before the British Guards, declared them past the power of rallying. He therefore determined to become the assailant in his turn. He ordered his whole army to advance to the charge, the centre formed in line four deep, and the battalions on the flanks in squares for their

security; the Duke himself with his hat in his hand leading the whole line, which was supported by the cavalry and artillery. This movement is represented as having been one of the finest military spectacles ever witnessed; and could it have been viewed apart from the scene of carnage which the field exhibited in every quarter, must have excited an indescribable glow of triumph in the bosoms of the gallant troops, who for so many hours had maintained with unwavering constancy the unequal contest. The setting sun, which through the sanguinary day had been veiled in clouds, now burst forth for a moment from its obscurity, and darted a cheering ray on the British columns as they rushed down the slopes, and crossed the plain which separated them from the French position. To ascend the heights of Belle Alliance was the work of a moment, though in presence of the fire of one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. Some resistance was still offered by the remnant of the Imperial Guard, which was rallied by Marshal Ney, but it was quickly overcome: the reserve of the Young Guard which was posted in a hollow between Belle Alliance and Monplaisir was totally routed by the 52d and 71st regiments, who after they had put the enemy to flight, separated, and running on two sides of an oval for a considerable way, met again, and thus cut off a great number of prisoners. The first line of the French was now thrown back upon and mingled with the second, in inex-

tricable confusion; pressed by the British in front, and by the Prussians on the right flank and in the rear, corps of every varied description were blended in one confused tide of flight, which no person attempted to guide or to restrain. Baggage waggon, dismounted guns, ammunition carts, and arms of every description cumbered the open field as well as the causeway, and with them were intermingled in thick profusion the corpses of the slain, or the bodies of the wounded, who in vain shrieked and implored compassion as the fugitives and their pursuers drove headlong over them. All the artillery in the front line, amounting to one hundred and fifty pieces, fell into the immediate possession of the British. But this charge proved fatal to some of their bravest officers, amongst whom were Sir Francis D'Oyley, of the Foot Guards; Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzgerald, of the 2d Life Guards; Colonel H. W. Ellis and Major Hawtyn, of the 23d Fusileers. The gallant Earl of Uxbridge was wounded in the knee by almost the last shot that was fired; and the chair is still shewn at Belle Alliance in which he suffered the amputation of his leg, exclaiming, with heroic enthusiasm, in the midst of the operation, "Who would not lose a leg for such a victory!"

Marshal Blucher and his brave Prussians had greatly contributed to this decisive and triumphant termination of the battle. It was half-past seven o'clock before the heads of his columns

reached the scene of action, near that point where Bulow was vigorously pressed by Count Lobau. General Ziethen instantly charged the right flank of the French near the village of Smouhen, pierced it in three places, and drove it from all its positions. The ground was very favourable to the operations of the Prussians, so that the artillery could open its fire from the summit of a great many heights which rose gradually above each other, and in the intervals of which, their brigades descended into the plain in the greatest order. The French retreated to Planchenoit, which was defended for some time by the Imperial Guard ; but after a series of bloody attacks, the Prussians at length carried it by storm. From this period the rout of the French right wing was as complete as that of the other corps of their army, and the Prussians pursued their career of success till they encountered and crossed the advance of the victorious British, when the Allies at that proud moment greeted each other with the most enthusiastic congratulations. The English gave their confederates three triumphant cheers, while the Prussians caused their military music to strike up the national anthem of ' God save the King.' The two illustrious chiefs met near La Belle Alliance, so lately the headquarters of their celebrated antagonist. They congratulated each other for a moment on the brilliant results of this memorable conflict, and the British cavalry being totally exhausted after the

toils and perils of the hard-fought day : the Duke of Wellington relinquished to Marshal Blücher the charge of the pursuit, which was cheerfully accepted by the Prussian veteran, who declared he would not give the enemy one moment's respite. He ordered every man and horse fit for service to press forward with the utmost alacrity ; and the Brunswick cavalry, notwithstanding the full share which they had borne in the fatigues of the day, requested permission to join in the pursuit, and they eagerly headed the chase, anxious yet further to avenge the death of their beloved Duke. An unclouded moon lighted the pursuers on their way, and deprived the flying enemy even of that refuge which the obscurity of night sometimes affords to the wretched fugitive. The causeway presented the appearance of an immense shipwreck,* being

* The following description of the final catastrophe of Napoleon's last army, is from the pen of the French Author of the "*Relation*," &c. "The army spontaneously, and all at the same time, left its posts, and spread like a torrent in all directions.—The cannoneers left their guns. The waggon-train cut their traces ; infantry, cavalry, all arms mingled in utter confusion, fly along the roads and in the fields. Equipages of all sorts that had been arranged in part along the highway, and withdrawn in disorder, choak the road, and render it impassable. No order nor route had been given. The commanders, swept away by the flying torrents, were separated from their corps ; not a single file of men to rally to, no arrangements dreamt of, for an orderly retreat. The Guards, heretofore *Invincible*, fled foremost of the multitude. Night came on and added to the confusion. The enemy detached a numerous cavalry in pursuit of the fugitives. A part of them

strewn with cannon, carriages and ammunition. Those of the enemy who had attempted to take a momentary repose, were driven from more than nine bivouacks: they resolved to maintain themselves in some of the villages, but a panic terror uniformly seized them whenever they heard the sound of the Prussian drums or trumpets, and they instantly fled, or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners. The state of total rout to which this army, only that morning so numerous and so splendid, was now reduced, may be estimated by the following short description of the situation of Marshal Ney, on whom the command had devolved: it is given in his own words—"As for myself," says the Marshal, "constantly in the rear-guard, which followed on foot, having all my horses killed; worn out with fatigue, covered with contusions, and having no longer strength to march, I owe my life to a corporal who supported me on the road, and did not abandon me during the retreat. At eleven at night, I found Lieut. Gen. Le-febvre Desnouettes, and one of his officers had the generosity to give me the only horse that remained

took possession of the whole hospital-train on the road, while formidable columns advanced on each flank. All the household carriages fell first to the Prussians, with mountains of other baggage. All the cannons were taken in the batteries where they had served, along with the caissons and train. In a word the whole *matériel* of our army disappeared in less than half an hour:

with him. In this manner I arrived at Marchienne-sur-Pont at four o'clock in the morning, alone, without any officers of my staff, ignorant of what had become of the Emperor, who, before the end of the battle, had entirely disappeared, and who, I was allowed to believe, might be either killed or taken prisoner."

Napoleon, however, had reserved himself for another destiny. According to the testimony of La Coste, his guide, he set off from the field of battle at half past eight o'clock, at full speed for Genappe, accompanied by his staff, following the line of the high road, at some distance in the fields. He reached Genappe at half past nine, and he found its only street so choaked up with the wreck of his army, that it took him an hour to pass through it. From Genappe he pursued his way to Quatre Bras with accelerated speed; but after passing this place, he became more tranquil, and on reaching Gosselies he alighted from his horse, and proceeded to Charleroi (nearly a league) on foot. After quitting Charleroi, he went into a meadow called Marcellene, where he partook of some wine with his officers, the only refreshment which he had tasted for fourteen hours. Here he dismissed his guide La Coste, to whom Bertrand gave a single Napoleon, and hastened with his attendants towards the French frontiers.

Meanwhile the advanced-guard of the Prussians and Brunswickers, under the command of General Gneiseneau, pursued the unfortunate victims of Napoleon's ambition with unrelenting fury, maddened by the recollection of the cruelties which their lancers and light troops had perpetrated throughout the day, on the wounded and prisoners. At Genappe the French attempted to make a last stand, having entrenched themselves behind cannon and overturned carriages ; and the approach of the Prussians was for a moment arrested by a brisk fire of musketry : but some cannon shots and a dreadful *hurrah* from the Allies, put an end to their feeble resistance, and what the wretched fugitives intended as a defence, now became an inextricable snare. All who had not escaped before the entrance of the Prussians, were cut down without mercy. In the small inn, forty grenadiers fell under the lance and sabre without resistance. General Duhesme stood at the door surrounded by the Brunswickers, whose vengeance on the slayers of their heroic Prince was still unsated. He asked quarter from the stern soldier, whose arm was uplifted for his destruction. " The Duke of Brunswick died the day before yesterday," was the only reply of the hussar, who instantly cut him down. Here the remainder of the French artillery, amounting to more than one hundred pieces, with the baggage and whole *materiel* of the army, fell into the hands of the Prussians, together with Na-

napoleon's famous travelling carriage and its valuable contents, with his travelling library, consisting of nearly eight hundred volumes, among which were found French translations of Homer and Ossian, the Bible, and the Pucelle of Voltaire ! Of the splendid field train of three hundred pieces which accompanied the French army, only one howitzer is said to have escaped the wreck of Waterloo, with the exception of the few pieces attached to Grouchy's corps.*

*The folly of not securing a safe retreat was never more manifest than upon this occasion. The whole of the discomfited army was forced to defile with all its incumbrances through the street of Genappe from which the road to Charleroi passes over a narrow bridge. Every one anxious to escape by this single outlet impeded the progress of another, while every moment new crowds of fugitives, cavalry, infantry, guns, and carriages of every description, rushed into the place; increased the tumult, and rendered the bridge impassable. In the midst of this confusion Napoleon and his staff passed unperceived through the throng. It has been very generally asserted that he was in his carriage at the time when it was attacked by the Prussians, and that he escaped at one door while the Prussian commandant entered at the other : but this would contradict La Coste's statement, nor is it at all supported by the narrative of the circumstances attending the capture of the carriage by Major Von Keller, which appears to have been published under his authority, and states the particulars of this remarkable event in the following words. "At eleven o'clock at night the troops arrived at the barricaded town of Genappe, at the entrance of which Major Von Keller met the travelling carriage of Buonaparte with six horses. The postilion and two leaders were killed by the bayonets of the fusileers. The Major then cut down the coachman and took possession of the carriage, which contained a gold and silver *necessaire*, including above

The feeble remnant of the French army now eagerly pressed forward to the Sambre, as their only protection from the avenging sword of their pursuers. They arrived at Charleroi about day-

seventy pieces ; a large silver chronometer ; a steel-bedstead with merino mattresses ; a pair of pistols ; a green velvet cap ; a pair of spurs ; linen ; and many other things for the convenience of travelling. There were also a diamond tiara, hat, sword, uniform, and an imperial mantle.—The booty was equally considerable and remarkable : several boxes of mounted and unmounted diamonds, a large silver service, with the arms of Napoleon, and gold pieces with his name and portrait, filled the haversacks of the 15th Prussian fusileers.”

This carriage was afterwards brought to England and exhibited for a considerable time in the British metropolis. It was built at Brussels according to Napoleon's order, for the campaign in Russia, and it constituted almost the whole of the equipage either of himself or his army which escaped in that disastrous retreat. It afterwards carried him to Dresden, and again brought him back in disgrace to Paris. He took it with him to Elba, and on his return made in it his triumphant journey to the French capital, and it accompanied him in this expedition, which terminated for ever his ambitious career. It resembled a fashionable English travelling carriage, but rather more heavily built. Its colour was dark blue, bordered with gold, and emblazoned with the arms of France. A lamp was placed at each corner, and another in the centre of the back to enlighten the interior of the carriage, which was arranged in a way of which no description could convey an adequate idea. It contained a complete bed-room, dressing-room, eating-room, kitchen, and office, together with a complete breakfast service for tea, coffee, and chocolate, including a spirit lamp ; a sandwich service consisting of plates, knives, forks, spoons, salts, pepper, and mustard boxes, decanters and glasses ; a dressing-case containing every possible article for the toilette ; a complete wardrobe, a bedstead, bed, mattresses ; and all so arranged, as to be found in an instant without incommoding the traveller.

break, and rushed to the bridge where a guard of grenadiers was posted with fixed bayonets, to arrest their flight, and if possible restore them to some kind of order: but the terrific cry, "the Prussians! the Prussians!" which they continually heard from the rear, caused them to press through every obstacle which impeded their escape: the guard was overwhelmed, and now the bridge of Charleroi exhibited a spectacle which could only be surpassed by the horrible scenes at the passage of the Beresina. The road to the bridge was choaked up by a mingled multitude of horsemen, infantry, and carriages, amongst whom might be observed groups of wounded men who seemed to cling to each other, as if a sense of mutual suffering, afforded some tie of mutual protection against the unfeeling rudeness of their more fortunate comrades. Pale, enfeebled, and covered by the bloody rags with which they had hastily bound up their wounds, some crept slowly along on foot, while others were mounted on the horses they had taken from the baggage-waggons which had been abandoned almost at every step of the road. The destruction that rapidly pressed upon them seemed to have blunted every kind feeling in the bosoms of this miserable multitude: the stronger thrust aside, or trampled upon the weaker, and frequently drew their sabres or bayonets on those who offered any resistance; while numbers were crushed under the wheels of the carriages, so that the accu-

mulating heaps of dead presented an obstacle almost insurmountable. The appearance of the Prussians at this terrible crisis, increased the horrors of the scene. Some hastily cut the traces of their horses, sprang upon them, and abandoning their carriages, forced their way through the crowd; others turned off at the foot of the bridge, and driving furiously along the banks of the Sambre, sought for a passage, and at length madly plunging in, were swept away by the torrent: in this manner hundreds perished at the distance of thirty miles from the field of battle. Even those who had passed the river in safety, soon found that they were not yet out of danger: while hastily cooking a little food, or taking that repose in the neighbouring meadows, which was still more necessary to recruit their nearly exhausted strength, they were roused from their slumbers, or compelled to abandon their food untasted, at the approach of the enemy. Some fled to Avesnes, and others to Philippeville, while numbers, abandoning the high road, took refuge in the woods, wandering wherever chance directed their way, and spreading alarm among the unfortunate inhabitants, who while congratulating themselves that the war had been removed to a distance, suddenly perceived that they were about to become a prey to the ravages of an enemy, whom a dearly-bought victory was likely to render tenfold more ferocious. Nor were they less apprehensive of the excesses of

their own soldiers, infuriated as they were by the disgrace of their defeat, their present sufferings, and their future prospects. The fortified towns closed their gates against the fugitives; from others they were forcibly driven away, and dispersing over the neighbouring country, they abandoned themselves to every species of crime.

Marshal Soult collected about four thousand of these stragglers, destitute of cannon, baggage, or arms, with whom he withdrew under the walls of Laon; and to these were added in a day or two the remnant of the corps of Marshal Grouchy, who, after driving Thielman from Wavre, was on the point of marching to Brussels, when his career was checked by the disastrous intelligence of his master's defeat at Waterloo, and that his army was flying in irreparable disorder towards the banks of the Sambre. No course now remained for him but a rapid retreat, before the conquerors should despatch strong columns on his flank and rear, to cut him off from France: but he had scarcely commenced his retrograde movement, when the vigilant Thielman turned on his pursuers, and commenced an incessant series of impetuous attacks, which carried slaughter and confusion into the French columns. Vandamme was wounded, several pieces of cannon were captured by the Prussians, and this corps would no doubt have been involved in the catastrophe of their main body, but for the talents and activity of their leaders.

Having reached Namur, Grouchy committed the defence of the shattered fortifications of that once strong town to General Vandamme, while he conducted the remainder, with the ammunition and wounded through the defile which leads to Dinant, which for many miles, would only permit the march of single columns. The French had scarcely closed the gates of Namur, when the Prussian advanced-guard attempted to enter with them *pêle mêle*; but Vandamme defended the place with success, till the arrival of Thielman's main-body, who carried the town by escalade, and driving the defenders through the streets, pursued them along the narrow defiles of Dinant, where Vandamme suffered great loss in men and cannon. By thus sacrificing his rear, Grouchy conducted about twenty thousand of his troops to Laon, in a tolerable state of equipment, having lost fourteen thousand in the action at Wavre, and during his perilous retreat.

While the Prussians were in this manner thinning the ranks, and completing the disorganization of the flying enemy, the British spent the night in the nobler work of mercy. The clangour of battle had ceased on the field of Waterloo, and all was still, save where the moans of the wounded burst upon the ear; and thither were directed the footsteps of their more fortunate comrades, who, regardless of their fatigue, denied themselves the smallest refreshment or repose, until they had

found means to alleviate the miseries of the sufferers. Led on by their illustrious chief, they retrod the field of death, searching with anxious care for every individual, in whom the lamp of life was not yet extinct: they placed them on litters hastily constructed, bound up their wounds, supplied their hunger and thirst from their own scanty stock, and erected huts for their accommodation until they could be transported to Brussels or Antwerp. In these acts of tenderness the victims of war, whether friends or enemies, were equal sharers; and in some parts of the field, the interesting scene was exhibited of British soldiers, after their own injuries had been attended to, assiduously dressing the wounds of those whom a few hours before they had met in mortal combat. While the Duke of Wellington contemplated the frightful heaps of carnage which thronged this narrow theatre of death, the pride of the victor, and the sternness of the warrior, gave way to the feelings of the man—he burst into tears, actuated, no doubt by those powerful sensations which he afterwards thus expressed to a friend,—“ Believe me, that nothing excepting a battle lost, can be half so melancholy as a battle won. The bravery of my toops has hitherto saved me from that greater evil; but to win even such a battle as this of Waterloo, at the expense of the lives of so many gallant friends, could only be termed a heavy misfortune, were it not for its important results to the public benefit.”

The loss of the Allied Army was indeed of such magnitude as to prove that the field was contested with a valour and constancy on both sides, of which few parallels are to be found in history. The candid and generous victor declared that he had never fought so hard for victory, and never from the gallantry of the enemy, had been so near a defeat. On the days of Quatre Bras and Waterloo, nearly one third of the Duke of Wellington's army were slain or wounded. Of these, more than 11,000 were British, 3000 Hanoverians, 4000 Belgians, or Dutch; and the loss of the Brunswickers, of which no return has been exhibited, must have borne a full proportion to that of their Allies. The number of British officers who suffered, was unusually great, 146 were killed, 585 wounded, and 13 missing. Among the slain were four generals, and forty-seven field officers; among the wounded, eleven generals, and one hundred and twenty-five field officers. Some regiments were stripped of all their superior officers, and most of their captains; and some are said at the close of the day to have been commanded by a lieutenant.* The total loss of the Duke of

*Generals and Field Officers of the British Army, under the Command of his Grace the Duke of Wellington, who were killed or wounded, from the 16th to the 26th of June 1815.

Lieutenant Generals His Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick Oels, Sir Thomas Picton, Major General Sir William Ponsonby, and Sir William Delancey, Quarter-Master General, killed.—General His Royal Highness the Prince of

Wellington's army exceeded 21,000, including 1200 officers, more than two hundred of whom, with upwards of six thousand rank and file, perished in the

Orange, Lieutenant Generals the Earl of Uxbridge and Sir Charles Alten, Major Generals Sir Frederick Adam, Sir Edward Barnes, Sir William Dornberg, Sir Colin Halket, Sir James Kempt, Sir Denis Pack, and Cooke; and Brigadier General Hardinge, wounded.

1st Life Guards.—Lieutenant Colonel Ferrier, killed.

2d Life Guards.—Lieutenant Colonel Fitzgerald, killed.

Royal Horse Guards.—Major Packe, killed.—Colonel Sir John Elley, Lieutenant Colonels Sir R. C. Hill, and Clement Hill, wounded.

1st Dragoon Guards.—Colonel Fuller, Major Bringhurst, killed.

1st Royal Dragoons.—Major Graham, killed.—Major Radclyffe, wounded.

2d (Scotch Greys).—Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, Major Reignolds, killed.—Lieutenant Colonels Hankin and Clarke, Majors Poole and Vernon, wounded.

6th (Enniskillen).—Lieutenant Colonel Miller, wounded.

7th Hussars.—Majors Hodge and Thornhill, wounded.

10th Hussars.—Major the Hon. F. Howard, killed.—Colonel Quentin, wounded.

12th Light Dragoons.—Colonel the Hon. F. Ponsonby, wounded.

13th Light Dragoons.—Lieutenant Colonel Boyce, wounded.

15th Hussars.—Major Griffith, killed.—Lieutenant Colonel Dalrymple, wounded.

16th Light Dragoons.—Lieutenant Colonel Hay, wounded.

23d Light Dragoons.—Majors Cutcliffe and Gerrard, wounded.

1st Light Dragoons, King's German Legion.—Lieutenant Colonel Baron Bulow, and Major Baron Reitzenstein, wounded.

2d Light Dragoons, King's German Legion.—Lieutenant Colonels De Jonquieres and Baron Marsdell, wounded.

3d Hussars, King's German Legion.—Lieutenant Colonel Meyer, wounded.

Royal Artillery.—Majors Beane, Cairnes, and Ramsay, killed.—Colonel Napier, Majors Bull, Lloyd, Macdonald, and Parker, wounded.

Royal Artillery, King's German Legion.—Major Symphen, wounded.

1st Foot Guards.—Lieutenant Colonels Sir F. D'Oyly, Miller, Milnes, Stables, and Thomas, killed.—Colonels Askew, the Hon. William Stewart, Lieutenant Colonels Sir Henry Bradford, Canning, Cooke, D'Oyly, Fead, and the Hon. H. G. Townsend, wounded.

2d (Coldstream) Foot-Guards.—Colonel the Hon. A. Abercromby, Lieutenant Colonels Macdonnel and Wyndham, wounded.

3d Foot-Guards.—Lieutenant Colonel Sir Alexander Gordon, killed.—Lieutenant Colonels Bowater, Dashwood, M'Kinnon, and West, wounded.

1st Foot, (3d battalion).—Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, Majors Arguimbau, Massey, and Macdonald, wounded.

4th Foot.—Lieutenant Colonel Wilson, wounded.

field, while numbers afterwards died of their wounds. The casualties of the Prussian army were still more numerous; their loss at the battles of Ligny, Wavre, and Waterloo amounted, according to their official returns, to 33,182 men, of whom near 6000 were killed, about 16,000 wounded, and 11,000 missing. As the French took few

23rd Foot.—Colonel Sir H. W. Ellis, and Major Hawtyn, killed.—Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, wounded.

27th Foot.—Major Hare, wounded.

28th Foot.—Major Meacham, killed.—Majors Irving, and Llewellyn, wounded.

30th Foot.—Major Chambers, killed.—Lieutenant-Colonels Hamilton, and Bailey, wounded.

32d Foot.—Major Toole, wounded.

33rd Foot.—Major Parkinson, wounded.

35th Foot.—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir G. F. Berkeley wounded.

40th Foot.—Major Heyland, killed.

42d Foot.—Colonel Sir Robert Macara, and Major Davidson, killed.—Lieutenant Colonel Dick, wounded.

44th Foot.—Lieutenant-Colonels Hammerton, O'Malley, and Major Jessop, wounded.

52d Foot.—Lieutenant-Colonel Rowan, and Major Love, wounded.

64th Foot.—Major Crofton, killed.

69th Foot.—Colonel Morice, killed.—Majors Lindsay and Watson, wounded.

71st Foot.—Major L'Estrange, killed.—Colonel Reynell, Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, and Major Johnstone, wounded.

73d Foot.—Major Maclean, killed.—Colonel Harris, Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, wounded.

79th Foot.—Lieutenant Colonels Brown, Cameron, and Douglas, wounded.

90th Foot.—Lieutenant Colonel Currie, killed.

91st Foot.—Major Blair, wounded.

92d Foot. Colonel Cameron, killed.—Lieutenant-Colonels Macdonald, and Mitchell, wounded.

95th (Rifles).—Majors Eccles and Smyth, killed.—Colonels Sir A. F. Barnard and Wilkins, Lieutenant-Colonels Norcott and Ross, Majors Beckwith, Cameron Fullerton, and Miller, wounded.

German Legion, Line.—Colonels Duplat, and Baron Ompteda, Major Chuden, Claud, and Leake, killed.—Lieutenant-Colonel De Schroeder, Majors Roden and Robertson, wounded.

German Legion, Light Infantry.—Major Basewell, killed.—Major Baron Busche, wounded.

4th West India Regiment.—Major Hamilton, wounded.

prisoners, it is probable that the great majority of the missing should be reckoned among the slain. The whole of the Combined Army therefore suffered a diminution of number during this short

Regimental loss of the British Army under the command of the Duke of Wellington, at the battles of Quatre Bras, and Waterloo, and in the subsequent Operations to the 26th of June 1815, with the Effective Strength of each Regiment at the opening of the Campaign, on the 15th of June.

Regiments, &c.	Effective Strength	Field Officers.			Captains & Subalterns.			Total Officers.	Rank and File.			Grand Total.
		K	W	M	K	W	M		K.	W.	M.	
Generals.		4	11	..	..	..	..	15	..	..	..	15
General Staff.		8	35	3	..	..	..	46	..	..	..	46
1st Life Guards.	227	1	..	..	1	4	..	6	24	49	4	53
2nd ———	232	1	..	..	..	..	1	2	16	40	97	155
Royal Horse Gds.	239	1	4	..	..	..	1	6	10	61	20	106
1st Drag. Guards.	529	2	..	..	5	4	..	11	120	115	..	246
1st Royal Drags.	393	1	1	..	3	8	1	14	86	86	9	197
2d (Scotch Greys.)	391	2	4	..	4	4	..	14	96	89	..	199
6th (Enniskillen.)	397	..	1	..	1	4	1	7	72	111	27	217
7th Hussars.	386	..	2	..	..	6	3	10	62	109	15	196
10th ———	390	1	1	..	1	5	..	8	20	40	26	94
11th Lt. Drags.	398	..	..	..	2	5	..	7	10	34	25	76
12th ———	402	..	1	..	2	2	..	5	45	61	..	111
13th ———	390	..	1	..	1	8	..	10	11	69	19	109
15th Hussars.	389	1	1	..	1	2	..	5	21	48	5	79
16th Lt. Drags.	387	..	1	..	2	3	..	6	8	16	..	32
16th Hussars.	396	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	13	72	17	104
23d Lt. Drags.	397	..	2	..	..	3	1	6	14	26	33	79
1st L.D.K.G. Leg.	498	..	2	..	3	9	..	14	30	99	10	153
2d ———	518	..	2	..	2	2	..	6	19	54	3	82
1st Hussars, —	618	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	5	3	10
2d ———	487	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3rd ———	640	..	1	..	4	7	..	12	40	78	..	130
Royal Artillery.	4500	3	6	..	2	22	..	32	62	228	10	332
— K. G. L.	625	..	1	..	2	4	..	7	..	..	..	7
— Engineers.	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	2
— Staff Corps.	233	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	2
— Sap. & Min.	539	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	2	..	3
Waggon Train.	162	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1st Ft.Gds. 2d bat.	1017	3	4	..	..	6	..	12	73	353	..	438
— 3d Batt.	1037	2	4	..	2	8	..	16	101	487	..	604
Coldstrm. G. 2d B.	1010	..	3	..	1	4	..	8	54	242	4	308
3d Ft.Gds. 2d Bat.	1064	1	4	..	2	5	..	12	39	195	..	246
1st Foot, 3d Batt.	627	..	4	..	8	22	..	34	83	295	..	362
4th ———	638	..	1	..	..	8	..	9	12	113	..	134
14th — 3d Batt.	572	..	..	..	..	3	..	3	7	26	..	36
23d. ———	611	2	1	..	3	5	..	11	13	80	..	104

campaign, exceeding 54,000 men. The French loss can never be accurately ascertained—suffice it,

Regiments, &c.	Effective Strength	Field Officers.			Captains and Subalterns.			Total Officers.	Rank and File.			Grand Total.
		K.	W.	M.	K.	W.	M.		kd.	wnd.	misng.	
27th ———	698	1	1	2	12	17	15	103	360	..	..	478
28th ———	567	1	2	..	17	..	20	29	203	..	..	252
30th — 2d Batt.	619	1	2	..	5	12	20	51	181	27	..	279
32d ———	689	..	1	..	1	29	31	49	290	..	..	370
33d ———	584	..	1	..	5	16	22	49	162	58	..	291
35th — 2d Batt.	477	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	2
40th ———	675	1	..	..	1	10	12	30	159	18	..	219
42d ———	572	2	1	..	1	19	20	47	266	..	..	333
44th — 2d Batt.	455	..	3	..	2	15	20	14	151	17	..	202
51st ———	548	..	..	..	2	..	2	11	29	..	..	42
52d ———	1032	..	2	..	1	6	9	16	174	..	..	199
54th — 2d Batt.	491	1	..	..	..	..	1	2	2	..	..	6
59th — 2d Batt.	405	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
69th — 2d Batt.	551	1	2	..	3	5	11	51	163	15	..	240
71st ———	810	1	3	..	11	..	15	24	160	3	..	202
73d — 2d Batt.	568	1	2	..	5	14	22	54	219	41	..	336
79th ———	675	..	3	..	3	24	31	57	390	1	..	479
81st — 2d Batt.	401	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
91st ———	780	..	1	..	..	1	2	1	6	..	..	9
92d ———	621	1	2	..	3	25	31	49	322	..	..	402
95th — 1st Batt.	571	2	3	..	1	11	17	28	175	..	..	220
— 2d ———	585	..	3	..	..	11	14	34	178	20	..	246
— 3d ———	190	..	2	..	..	2	4	3	36	7	..	50
1st Lt. Inf. K.G.L.	487	..	1	..	4	8	13	37	82	13	..	145
2d ———	434	1	..	..	2	9	13	40	120	29	..	202
1st Line. ———	450	1	1	..	5	..	7	22	69	17	..	115
2d ———	500	1	..	1	1	..	3	18	79	7	..	107
3d ———	555	1	1	..	4	..	6	17	93	31	..	147
4th ———	474	1	..	..	7	..	8	13	77	15	..	113
5th ———	454	1	..	..	1	3	5	36	47	74	..	162
8th ———	526	1	..	..	2	4	7	44	80	16	..	147
Total British & King's German Legion.	38,815	51	136	3	95	449	10	744	2051	7553	736	11,084
Hanoverians.	13,225	..	..	..	..	..	136	950	1874	..	..	2,960
Belgians.	14,000	..	..	..	..	..	142	2058	1936	..	..	4,136
Brunswickers.	8,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	1000	2000	..	..	3,000
	74,040	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Deduct Corps of Observation.	5,819	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	68,221	51	136	3	95	449	10	1022	4059	13,363	736	21,180

* No official returns of the loss of the Brunswick troops have been exhibited, but it is conjectured to have been about the number stated above.

however, to say, that of as fine an army as ever marched from the French frontier, composed of 150,000 veterans in the highest state of discipline, fully equipped in all the munitions of war, and enthusiastically devoted to the chief who had so often led them to victory, scarcely 50,000 were collected after their flight from the Netherlands: thus 100,000 men must have been lost by the sword, captivity, or desertion. Seven or eight thousand prisoners, including Count Lobau and General Cambrone, were taken by the Allies, together with the whole of their artillery, baggage, and ammunition—in short, every thing that was necessary to the equipment of an army.

The stupendous events of this memorable campaign of four days, have no parallel in the history of Europe, whether we consider the talents and bravery of the generals and troops on both sides, or the vitally important consequences to the civilized world with which they were connected. Never did two armies contend for a prize more valuable—the preservation of the peace of Europe, so lately

Prussian-Loss during the Campaign.	Officers.			Rank and File.			Grand Total.
	killed.	wd.	miss.	killed.	wd.	miss.	
1st Corps.	38	200	27	2414	5322	6434	14439
2d —	29	151	7	1280	3915	2234	7616
3d —	16	107	2	834	2636	1129	4724
4th —	23	148	5	1132	3871	1174	6353
	106	606	41	5664	15,744	10,971	33,132
Casualties in Lord Wellington's Army,							21,180
Total loss of the Allied Army,							54,312

and so dearly purchased, or the renewal of a sanguinary and probably a long-protracted war depended on the issue. Objects of the most commanding nature stimulated the leaders on both sides, to give full scope to the extraordinary military talents with which they were endowed. On the one hand, Napoleon hoped by a splendid victory, to recover his former character of invincibility, which he had lost by his late reverses ; to arm the French people once more in defence of a throne to which he had climbed *per fas et nefas*—and thus again to rivet his yoke on the neck of Continental Europe. On the other hand, the Allied Generals were not less anxious to maintain the high reputation which they had justly acquired, by their successful exertions for the overthrow of that military tyranny, which nothing but universal empire seemed sufficient to satiate. They knew that the eyes of their respective countries—the eyes of Europe were upon them ; and that not more was expected from their talents, than from their devotedness to the cause of justice and independence ; and they nobly justified the confidence that was reposed in them. Never had Napoleon displayed more vigour and activity than in his preparations for this momentous contest. His troops were collected and equipped with a celerity that at once argued the wisdom of his arrangements, and their enthusiasm in his cause. Having selected his point of attack, he led his followers to the field with a

rapidity equal to that which had secured for him the conquest of Italy, and the victories of Ulm, of Austerlitz, and of Jena. But the efforts which succeeded upon these occasions, proved inadequate to the task of counter-acting the wise combinations of the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher, for the complete annihilation of his army. Though inferior in numerical strength to his adversaries, if united, he could, as the assailant, bring a superior force against either, while they were separated. On this principle he acted, with momentary success. Blucher, alone, had to sustain, and retreat before the fury of his first onset; Wellington, separated by this disaster from his Ally, had to retire from the field, which, on the same day, he had successfully maintained against the impetuous attacks of the French left wing, in order to restore his communications with the Prussians. Pursued by an enemy flushed with victory, and rejoicing in the prospect of the speedy and total ruin of their adversaries, the British chief conducted his army to that spot which he had previously chosen for meeting the decisive conflict, and there he made such a skilful disposition of his forces, seconded as it was by the dauntless courage and heroic firmness of his followers, as rendered the post impregnable. Some have hazarded an assertion, that but for the opportune arrival of the Prussians, the British must have suffered a total defeat. Such was not Lord Wellington's opinion: On being asked by a friend,

whether at the most critical period of the battle, he looked often to the woods from which the Prussians were expected to issue; "No," was the answer; "I looked oftener at my watch than at any thing else. I knew if my troops could keep their position till night, that I must be joined by Blücher before morning, and we would not have left Bonaparte an army next day. But," continued his Grace, "I own I was glad as one hour of daylight slipped away after another, and our position was still maintained." "And if," said the querist, "by misfortune the position had been carried?" "We had the wood behind to retreat into." "And if the wood also was forced?" "No, no;" replied the Duke, "they could never have so beaten us, but we could have made good the wood against them."

Never was there a fairer field for exhibiting the military talents of two rival generals, or the peculiar military characteristics of two rival nations.—Napoleon, to use his own words had come to "measure himself with Wellington;" and never did he labour so hard to assert the superiority. He had gained all his victories by what has been technically called the *en avant* system of tactics, which he knew was best suited to the active, daring, and impetuous character of the French soldier; and this his superior numbers, particularly in cavalry and artillery, enabled him to put in practice upon the present occasion with the fullest advan-

tage, for never had he led an army to the field who displayed more heroism or ardour in his cause. It was indeed a battle of giants. For more than eight hours, no manœuvre was exhibited, except a succession of desperate charges on the one side, and a stern resistance on the other, which it was impossible to overcome. How much the heroic and animating conduct of their illustrious chief contributed to the steady perseverance with which the British army maintained the dreadful struggle, we have already seen: wherever danger pressed he was to be found, and his word and his example inspired every phalanx with renewed ardour in their country's cause. His greatest difficulty was to restrain the impetuosity of the troops, who, wearied of seeing their ranks diminished every moment in a species of inactive warfare, burned to rush upon the foe, and shew them what British courage could do as well as suffer. The decisive moment at length arrived, when they were permitted to prove themselves equally irresistible in attack as immoveable in defence. The eagle eye of Wellington perceived the successful progress of the Prussians on the enemy's right flank, and he resolved to terminate the contest by becoming the assailant. Forgetful of their diminished strength, their fatigues and sufferings, his whole line rushed exultingly to the assault, and in a few minutes, victory the most decisive crowned the gallant effort.

The noble share which the Prussian veteran and

his heroic followers took in accelerating and completing the grand catastrophe of the French army, has crowned them with imperishable laurels. Undismayed by his recent losses, and unaffected by his own personal sufferings, he pressed forward with ardent zeal and loyalty to the aid of his brave Allies; and but for his opportune arrival, Lord Wellington, though he might have been enabled to maintain his position, could not, with his inferior forces, have given the enemy so complete an overthrow as to put it out of their power again to renew the combat.

In the eyes of military men, the victory of Waterloo must appear to have been the result, not of fortuitous circumstances, but of a well-combined plan for terminating the new war at a single blow. When the Allied Generals perceived that the object of Napoleon was to separate and defeat the two armies in detail, they adopted the most judicious measures to counteract the project of their enterprising adversary, and they completely succeeded. Though Blücher by his defeat on the 16th was compelled to fall back from his advanced position, yet Wellington by his prudent retreat on the following day, again restored the communication which had thus been broken. By this Napoleon was left but a choice of difficulties—to fight the English, with a chance of defeating them before the Prussians could come up; or to retreat in the presence of an army, which in a few hours must

have become greatly his superior, by the junction of its Allies. His critical circumstances left little room for deliberation, and he preferred trying the event of battle to returning into France, disappointed and disgraced.

In the mind of the philosopher and the Christian moralist, the battle of Waterloo is calculated to inspire contemplations which may be rendered subservient to the best interests of mankind. The days of Marathon, and Thermopylæ; of Cannæ, of Zama, and of Philippi; of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, have, in their turn, been the subjects of historical and poetical delineation; and we have rejoiced while perusing the triumphs of patriotism and the overthrow of ambitious tyranny. But no age or country has ever presented to the imagination a more vivid picture of the evanescent nature of human glory, or the frail tenure by which the despot holds his power, than that stupendous event which we have just attempted to describe. Considered in all its bearings, and with all its accompaniments and results, we conceive it has scarcely a parallel in the history of political occurrences. A man, who, for nearly twenty years had enjoyed the reputation of being the first captain of the age; with whose triumphs the earth resounded, and at whose nod the nations fell prostrate, suddenly issues from that seclusion to which he had been driven by a temporary reverse, and again appears at the head of a formidable

army, raised as by magic, to scatter firebrands, arrows, and death, in his destructive course.— On Wednesday morning he marches from the French frontier, in all the pomp of martial glory—on Sunday evening his army is destroyed, scattered, dispersed, and himself a fugitive, indebted for his security to the shades of night. The boat of Xerxes does not afford a finer lesson of instruction for the ambitious, than Napoleon, with his eight attendants, taking by stealth, a little refreshment in the meadow of Marcenelle !

An event which was to still the alarms of affrighted Europe, first brought consolation to the trembling inhabitants of Brussels. For three days they had been a prey to the most anxious suspense, as the cannonading appeared nearer or more remote. The city was inundated with the most vague and contradictory reports: one moment it was asserted that the enemy were defeated and in full retreat—the next, that they had eluded the vigilance of the Allies, and were approaching by a circuitous route to seize the defenceless capital. The intelligence of the repulse of the French at Quatre Bras was qualified by the defeat of Blücher at Ligny, while the subsequent retreat of the Allies, and the arrival of numerous waggons filled with wounded soldiers, excited a general despondency with regard to the final result. So great was the alarm on the evening of the 17th, that one hundred Napoleons were offered in vain for a pair

of horses to go to Antwerp, a distance of only thirty miles ; and numbers set off on foot, and embarked in boats upon the canal. On Sunday it was universally believed that the enemy had gained a complete victory, and terror and confusion were at their highest point. A dreadful panic having seized the men left in charge of the baggage in the rear of the army, they ran away with a rapidity that could not have been surpassed by the flight of the French. The narrow road from Waterloo through the forest of Soignies soon became literally choaked up, and a struggle to see who should get foremost ended in a serious scuffle, in which some lives were lost. The road was strewed with overturned abandoned baggage and dead horses, which rendered it impossible for the wounded to be brought from the field.

The panic soon spread to more distant places in the Netherlands. At Antwerp long rows of carriages lined the streets, filled with fugitives who could find no place of shelter. So universal was the anxiety, that during the whole of Sunday, though the rain was incessant, the Great Place was crowded with people, who stood from morning till night under umbrellas, watching for news, and assailing every person who entered the town with fruitless enquiries : a community of danger seemed to level all distinctions, and persons total strangers to each other, conversed together like friends. It has been justly observed, that "none but those who

have been in a similar situation can conceive the strong overpowering anxiety of being so near such eventful scenes, without being able to learn what is really passing : to know that within a few miles such an awful contest is deciding—to think that in the roar of every cannon, your brave countrymen are falling, bleeding, dying—to dread that your dearest friends may be the victims—to endure the protracted suspense, the constant agitation, the varying reports, the incessant alarms, the fluctuating hopes, and doubts, and fears, which are the constant accompaniments of such circumstances,” must be productive of feelings almost insupportable. It was not until eight o'clock on the following morning that the glorious truth burst upon the terrified population, and filled every breast with mingled feelings of triumph and sorrow, admiration and regret : the generally silent thankfulness of the British might be contrasted with the volatile joy of the Belgians, who made the streets resound with their acclamations—and in these they were heartily joined by a party of wounded Highlanders, who had found their way on foot from the field of battle. Regardless of their sufferings they began to shout with the most vociferous demonstrations of joy ; and those who had the use of their arms threw their bonnets into the air, calling out in broad Scotch, “ Boney’s beat !—Boney’s beat !—huzza ! huzza !—Boney’s beat !”

Vast numbers now flocked from Brussels and the adjacent towns to visit the eventful field of Waterloo; some actuated by the benevolent wish of being serviceable to those wretched sufferers in whom the spark of life might not yet be extinct; others by curiosity, or worse motives. The wreck on the road through the forest of Soignies rendered it almost impassible for carriages, while it was skirted with the lifeless bodies of unfortunate men who had crept from the field of battle, and, unable to proceed farther than the spot where they were found, lay down and died. It would be impossible to describe the desolation which reigned on the immediate scene of action. The high standing corn which had waved there two days before in rich luxuriance, had been so completely beaten into the earth as to have the appearance of stubble: and the ground, ploughed up in many places by the deep impress of the horses' hoofs, pointed out where the most deadly struggles had taken place. In every quarter the field was strewn with the melancholy relics of the horrid fray—soldiers' caps pierced with many a ball—various devices and ornaments—badges of the legion of honour—cuirasses—fragments of broken arms, belts, and scabbards—shreds of tattered clothing, shoes, gloves, cartridge boxes, highland bonnets, feathers steeped in blood and gore, French novels and German testaments, scattered music, cards, letters, and military *livrets*, or memorandum books, of the French

soldiers.* These frail memorials of the battle were eagerly sought as precious relics by the early visitors to the field, while the hand of patriotism or friendship has decorated the walls of the churches of Waterloo and Brain-le-leude, with the names of many of the gallant victims of that memorable day.

The effects produced in England by this splendid triumph, were as extraordinary as their cause was unparalleled. A month had not elapsed since Parliament granted means to carry on the war, till its object was virtually attained. "It seemed," said a respectable periodical publication of the day, "as if the black storm which had so suddenly obscured the political horizon, had condensed and discharged itself in one loud and horrific peal of thunder, and that the cloud had then dispersed on the instant, and the sky been restored to twice its usual serenity and brilliancy." The first care of the British Parliament was to testify the gratitude of the nation to the illustrious hero and his brave army, who had accomplished such a glorious and

* "I picked up one of them," says the Author of 'Paul's Letters,' "which shows by its order and arrangement the strict discipline which at one time was maintained in the French army, when the soldier was obliged to enter in such an accout-book, not only the state of his pay and equipments, but the occasions on which he served, and distinguished himself, and the punishments, if any, which he had incurred. At the conclusion is a list of the duties of the private soldier, amongst which is that of knowing how to dress his victuals, and to make good soup."

important achievement for their country and for Europe. After a high eulogy on the conduct of the Duke of Wellington by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was interrupted by repeated cheers, the House of Commons voted the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, for the better enabling the trustees appointed in the former session to purchase a suitable residence and estate for the Duke of Wellington and his heirs; and in this vote all parties, even those who had most strenuously opposed the war, heartily agreed. The thanks of both Houses were unanimously voted to the commanders, officers, and soldiers of the British and Prussian armies; and on the 29th of June it was moved, and unanimously agreed to, that an Address should be presented to the Prince Regent, that he might give directions that a great national monument should be erected in honour of the victory of Waterloo, and to commemorate the fame of those who fell on the 16th and 18th of June; and that monuments should be erected to Sir Thomas Picton, and Sir William Ponsonby, in St. Paul's Church.

Various high honours and privileges were also conferred on the troops engaged at Waterloo. The Prince Regent declared himself Colonel-in-chief of the two regiments of Life Guards; and he granted permission to all the regiments of cavalry and infantry who fought in the battle, to bear on their colours and appointments the word "WATERLOO."

The Earl of Uxbridge was created Marquis of Anglesea, and Lord Hill a Baron of the United Kingdom. Major-General Kempt was appointed a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath; Major-Generals Cook, Maitland, and Adam, were nominated Knights Commanders; and one hundred and twenty-one Field-Officers were appointed Knights Companions of the same order. All the ensigns in the Foot Guards were ordered in future to rank as lieutenants, and the First Regiment of Foot Guards were made grenadiers, in commemoration of their having defeated the grenadiers of the French Imperial Guards at the memorable battle of Waterloo. A silver medal of equal size and fineness was presented to every general, officer, and soldier in the British army, who was present at the battle; and, besides these honours and distinctions, several valuable privileges were conferred both on the officers and men. Every subaltern officer who served at Waterloo, or in any of the actions which immediately preceded it, was allowed to account two years' service in virtue of that victory, in reckoning his own services for increase of pay given to lieutenants of seven years standing. It was also ordered, that every non-commissioned officer and private who served in these battles, should be borne upon the muster-rolls of their corps as "WATERLOO MEN;" and that every Waterloo man should be allowed to count two years in virtue of that victory,

in reckoning his services for increase of pay, or for pension when discharged.

The Allied Sovereigns manifested their high sense of the heroic and important services of the British army, by bestowing the decorations of their various orders of knighthood on its most distinguished officers. The King of the Netherlands conferred upon the Duke of Wellington the appropriate title of Prince of Waterloo; and the States-General settled upon him and his heirs an estate in the vicinity of the scene of his triumph, producing annually 20,000 Dutch florins, or 2,000*l.* sterling.

But while well-deserved honours and rewards were thus granted to the brave men who had survived the eventful field, and still possessed undiminished strength again to fight the battles of their country, all classes of the British public rushed forward to alleviate the sufferings of their disabled countrymen, and provide for the relatives of those who fell. From the prince to the peasant subscriptions flowed in, till in a short period the fund for this benevolent purpose amounted to *half-a-million sterling*. The most judicious measures were adopted for its appropriation: annuities for life were granted to disabled soldiers and widows—adequate sums were allotted for the maintenance and education of the orphan children, and where annuities were not applicable, donations of money were given to wounded officers and soldiers, and to

the parents and other dependent relatives of the slain. By this splendid effort of benevolence Great Britain gave a striking proof to the world, that she justly appreciated the valorous exertions of that gallant army, who by this glorious achievement, had stemmed the tide of slaughter, and saved the expenditure of millions of money. Should the day again arrive when Britain will have to array herself against foreign aggression or injustice, the Waterloo subscription will remind her soldiers, that they do not serve an ungrateful country.

Near the close of the Session of Parliament, the House of Commons passed a vote of thanks to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, for his distinguished and meritorious conduct as Commander-in-chief of the British army. To his exertions were justly attributed the high state of discipline and organization of the troops, which had so mainly contributed to the late glorious events. When the Duke was placed at the head of the army, mere interest could effect the most rapid promotion, and boys frequently commanded regiments. But by the wholesome regulations introduced by his Royal Highness, every officer, whatever his connexions may be, must go through a certain course of service before he can be promoted. While this has happily removed the natural feelings of neglected merit, which had for so long a time been the bane of the service, his admirable system of

tactics has produced that rapidity and precision with which the troops executed the most complicated movements, in the various battles under the Duke of Wellington, whose brilliant results have elevated the British army to such a high degree of pre-eminence. The hand of death has lately deprived the country of the valuable services of his Royal Highness; but his memory will long be cherished by every class in the army, as the founder of a system which has justly procured him the honourable title of **THE SOLDIER'S FRIEND**; and which, if wisely followed up, must give permanence to those great advantages which the British nation has derived from the heroism and good conduct of her gallant soldiers.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

State of Parties in the French Capital.—Return of Napoleon.—Deliberation of the Ministers.—A Dictatorship is proposed, but rejected by Napoleon.—Meeting of the Chambers.—Speech of La Fayette.—Measures adopted for securing the Independence of the National Representation.—Commutations in Paris.—Unsuccessful attempts of Lucien Bonaparte to maintain the Emperor's Authority.—Napoleon convenes a General Council.—Opinion delivered by La Fayette.—Suspicion of the Chambers respecting the Emperor's designs.—Extreme agitation of Napoleon.—Conversations with Lucien Bonaparte and the Ministers.—Anonymous Letter.—Interview with General Solignac.—Napoleon abdicates the Throne in favour of his Son.—Address of Thanks from the Chambers.—Stormy Debate in the Chamber of Peers on the Succession of Napoleon II.—Speeches of Ney, Lucien Bonaparte, Labedoyere, and Count Cornudet.—Establishment of a Provisional Government.—Napoleon threatens to revoke his Abdication.—Policy pursued in the Chamber of Deputies.—Napoleon announces his Abdication to the Army, and retires to Mal-maison.—His Departure for Rochefort.—Advance of the Allied Armies towards Paris.—Operations of the Austrians and Russians.—Prince Blucher's Address to his Army.—Outrages committed by the Prussians.—Orderly March of the British Army under the Duke of Wellington.—Capture of Cambray.—Louis XVIII. enters Cambray, and issues a Proclamation to the French People.—Peronne surrenders to the British Foot Guards.—The French Army under Soult and Grouchy reach the French Capital, closely followed by the Allies.—The Propositions of the French Commissioners are rejected by the Allied Sovereigns.—Difficult Situation of the French Government and Legislature.—Letter of M. Malleville.—Paris is invested by the British and Prussian Armies.—

Violent proceedings of the French Army.—the Duke of Wellington rejects a Proposition for an Armistice.—Blucher drives the Enemy under the Walls of Paris.—Cautious Movements of the Allies.—Generous Conduct of the Duke of Wellington.—Action at Versailles.—Preparations for the Assault of the French Capital.—Council of War.—Last Effort of the French Army.—Capitulation of Paris.—Rage of the Army and the Federates, on evacuating the Capital.—Apparent firmness of the Chambers.—Privileges to be demanded of the future Sovereign.—Fouché's Interview with Louis XVIII. at St. Denis.—Entrance of the Allied Troops.—Violent proceedings of the Prussians.—Conference of Fouché with the Allied Ministers.—Abdication of the Provisional Government.—Dissolution of the Chambers.—Public Entry of Louis XVIII.—New Ministry.—Proscriptions.—Critical Situation of Napoleon at Rochefort.—Various attempts to escape frustrated.—He surrenders to Captain Maitland in the Bellerophon.—His Letter to the Prince Regent of England.—Arrival of the Bellerophon in Torbay.—Napoleon is transferred to the Northumberland, and sent to St. Helena.—Brief Description of that Island.—Rash Enterprize and Death of Murat.—Disorganized State of France.—Surrender of Toulouse and Bourdeaux.—Death of Generals Ramel and Brune.—Re-actionary Movements in the West and South.—Religious War at Nismes.—Attempt to assassinate General de la Garde.—Disbandment and Re-organization of the Army.—Disorders in Paris.—Entrance of the Russian Troops.—Trial and Execution of Labedoyere and Ney.—Singular Escape of Lavalette.—Clamours of the Ultra-Royalists.—Change of Ministry.—Severities of the Allies.—Removal of the Museum.—Treaty of Peace.—Meeting of the Chambers.—Holy Alliance.—Settlement of the Continent.—Concluding Observations.

WHILE the tremendous and decisive conflict raged on the frontiers, the French capital had been inundated with rumours of the most triumphant nature. But the sound of the hundred cannon

which announced the victory at Ligny had scarcely died away, when Napoleon brought to Paris the news of his own defeat. After a short repose at Philippeville, he pursued his route to Rocroi, where he spent the night of the 19th, and on the following evening, he entered the capital with a few attendants. During his absence the different parties at the seat of government, held various secret conferences as to their future proceedings. All agreed that if Napoleon should prove victorious, resistance to his authority would be vain; and they consoled themselves with the hope, that if the independence of France were once asserted, he could not violate the promises which he had given with regard to their liberties: but in case of his defeat, each party indulged a different project. Some, under the guidance of Fouché, resolved to make peace with the Bourbons; others, expecting that the Allies would, agreeably to their declarations, permit them to choose their own government, proposed to offer the crown to the Duke of Orleans: while a third party, headed by La Fayette, still indulged a hope that France might yet be permitted to enjoy a Constitution of a more republican character. The decided Imperialists were comparatively few, consisting of those persons who had acquired honours and wealth under the government of Napoleon, or who had committed crimes in his cause, which exposed them to the vengeance of the Bourbons: and to these were added a small number, who feeling the sacredness

of an oath, were not prepared so soon to violate that which they had so lately taken to defend the person and the throne of the Emperor. The gasconading bulletins of the battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras had raised the expectations of this party to the highest pitch; but their towering hopes were levelled with the dust, when they beheld the object of their idolatry return once more as a fugitive to that capital, which he had quitted only a week before in all the pride of anticipated victory. At nine o'clock three chariots covered with dust entered the court yard of the Bourbon-Elysée, and the gates were rapidly closed behind them. After Napoleon had alighted, he rushed up the stairs of the palace, and without speaking a word entered the apartments, followed by his attendants. Having reached the saloon, he threw himself on one of the sofas, and covered his face with his hands. In a few minutes he entered his cabinet, where he found a letter from the Princess Hortensia, which he read, then pressed it to his lips, and wrote an immediate reply. Some soup was now brought him, of which he partook with appetite: he then gave orders for the immediate attendance of the Ministers, and throwing himself again on the sofa, soon fell into a profound sleep.*

* These, and many of the subsequent particulars of Napoleon's conduct on this interesting occasion, have been derived from a pamphlet published by M. St. Didier, his private Secretary, entitled "*Nuits de l'Abdication de l'Empereur Napoleon.*"

In the course of the night the Ministers successively arrived, and the bulletin of the battle of Mont St. Jean was drawn up, chiefly from the lips of Napoleon, who during the reading of it frequently exclaimed, "It was gained! It was gained! the victory was mine!" and at the conclusion he added, with a sigh, "It is lost! and with it my glory!"—Various plans were suggested for adoption at this critical exigency. Count Regnault proposed a Dictatorship as the means of saving the country: but to this Napoleon would not consent; and when it was hinted that the Chambers might proceed to extremities against him, and even deprive him of his crown, he affirmed it was impossible that they could so soon forget their oath which they had taken to him:—at all events, the truth should be fairly told them: he would put their fidelity and patriotism to the test, and he did not doubt that he should afterwards be able to foil any attempt which they might make against him. Fouché, with apparent sincerity, professed his deep regret at the events that had occurred, and his unshaken fidelity and affection. But he assured the Emperor that the evil was remediable, that no design was meditated against his person or authority, and that he might rely on the co-operation of all the parties in the defence of the country. He, therefore, opposed the dissolution of the Chambers, and the assumption of the Dictatorship, as measures perfectly unnecessary, and which must occasion much

dissatisfaction and disgust. Napoleon listened to these observations with evident embarrassment and suspicion, but he dissembled his feelings, and after again expressing his determination to adhere to the forms of the Constitution, and respect the privileges of the Chambers, he abruptly dismissed the Ministers, and appointed a meeting of the Council at eight o'clock. His favourite, the Princess Hortensia, was now introduced. She exhorted him by every thing he held dear to endeavour to obtain a peace, and save his country and himself. He appeared greatly agitated, and frequently exclaimed, "The Bourbons! the English! dishonour!" He afterwards became more tranquil, and when the Council assembled, he joined them with an air of peculiar cheerfulness.

At this meeting Lucien Bonaparte urged the measure of a Dictatorship with great vehemence, as the only means of saving the Emperor and the country from inevitable disgrace. This opinion was supported by Regnault, Decrés, and Davoust, and opposed by Fouché, Cambacères, and Carnot, as unnecessary; but the latter added, that having professed himself the friend of Napoleon, he would defend him to the last extremity, and would rather see him assume the power of Dictator, and assert his constitutional privilege in dissolving the Chambers, than suffer him to be driven from his throne by external or internal violence. Napoleon attended to the various arguments which were offer-

ed, but still persevering in his first resolution, he again expressed his firm determination to throw himself on the loyalty of the Chambers, and concert with them the measures which were necessary to be taken at this critical juncture.

While the Council was engaged in this discussion, the Deputies assembled, in consequence of intelligence having been received by La Fayette of the subject which engaged the attention of Napoleon and his Ministers. The President had scarcely taken his seat, when this veteran and victim of the Revolution presented himself in the tribune, and thus addressed the Assembly :—

“Gentlemen, for the first time during many years you hear a voice, which the old friends of liberty may yet recognize. The country is in danger, and you alone can save it. The sinister reports which had been circulated within the last two days are unhappily confirmed. This is the moment to rally round the national colours,—the national standard of 1789,—the standard of liberty, equality, and public order. It is you alone who can now protect the country from foreign attacks, and internal dissensions. It is you alone who can secure the independence and the honour of France. Allow a veteran in the sacred cause of freedom, and a stranger to the spirit of faction, to submit to you some resolutions, which the dangers of the present crisis demand. I am assured that you will feel the necessity of adopting them.”

He then proposed that the Chambers should declare that the independence of the nation was menaced—that the sittings of the Chambers were permanent, and that every attempt to dissolve them should be deemed high treason—that the Army and National Guards had deserved well of their country—that immediate measures should be taken for completing the National Guard of Paris, for the preservation of public tranquillity and the inviolability of the National Representatives—and that the Ministers be invited to repair to the Hall of the Assembly. All these propositions were adopted with little discussion by both Chambers, except the fourth, which was suspended, as conveying an invidious distinction between the troops of the line and the national guard. The latter, however, availed themselves of the hint, and picquets were sent from every *arrondissement* to protect the Legislature.

It being evident that these measures were levelled at the authority of Napoleon, the different parties began to regard each other with distrust. The quays, the boulevards, and public walks were filled with groups of citizens, anxiously waiting for the impending struggle. Silence generally reigned among them, which was occasionally broken by the opposite shouts of *Vive l'Empereur !* and *Vive le Roi !* Broils were in various instances the consequence, and some blood was shed: but the mild, yet firm conduct of the National Guard pre-

vented any serious mischief. The state of public feeling at this critical juncture is particularly observable from the fact, that the public funds began rapidly to rise since the announcement of the Emperor's defeat at Waterloo.

After repeated messages to require the attendance of the Ministers, Caulaincourt, Davoust, Fouché, and Carnot, entered the Hall of the Deputies, accompanied by Lucien Bonaparte. They presented a communication from the Emperor, announcing the full extent of the recent disaster, and stating that his Majesty had nominated Caulaincourt, Fouché, and Carnot, as Commissioners to treat of peace with the Allies. Lacoste and other republican members bluntly reminded them, that they had no basis for any negotiations which could be proposed in the Emperor's name, as the Allies had declared Napoleon the only obstacle to peace. The applause which followed convinced Lucien, that the Representatives had determined to separate their cause from that of his brother: but still he used all the arts of eloquence to excite their love of glory, their generosity, fidelity, and respect to the oaths which they had so lately sworn. To these appeals, La Fayette replied, "*We have been faithful; we have followed your brother to the sands of Egypt—to the snows of Russia. The bones of Frenchmen scattered in every region, attest our fidelity.*" The whole Assembly seemed to accord with these sentiments, and to consider the

abdication of Napoleon as a measure of absolute necessity. Before the Chambers adjourned, they appointed a Committee of Safety to sit during the night, and to co-operate with the Ministers and the House of Peers, in such measures as might be considered necessary for the public tranquillity.

When Napoleon was informed of the proceedings of the Legislature, he perceived that the gauntlet was now thrown down, and that no other course remained for him, than to assume the Dictatorship, and dissolve the Chambers by force, or abdicate the authority which he had so lately resumed. Carnot, on his return to the Palace, found him in a bath, refreshing himself with a *bouillon*. As the minister entered, Napoleon demanded, in his usual tone of authority, an instant supply of money, and a levy of 300,000 men. Carnot candidly told him, that compliance with either of these demands was impossible. Prince Lucien and Maret still recommended vigorous measures for the preservation of his authority ; but the mind of the falling despot seemed at this time so vacillating, that he could not adopt any decisive measure.

During the night of the 21st, Napoleon convened a sort of general council, comprehending all the ministers, the presidents, and four members of each chamber, with many other official characters, chiefly his devoted friends. The Emperor entered the apartment where they were assembled, accompanied by his brothers Joseph, Lucien, and Jerome.

After a short interval of silence, Napoleon addressed the assembly, at first in a tremulous and agitated tone, which denoted the internal distress under which he laboured. He acknowledged with frankness the extent of the disaster which had befallen the country ; spoke of the courage and devotion of his troops, the unconquerable bravery of the British, and the great talents of their commander. He confessed that he had now no resource but in the zealous fidelity and affection of his people ; and entreated the advice of the Committee as to the measures which it was necessary to adopt. Various opinions were now advanced by the members of the Committee. Count Regnault recommended an instant levy of troops to bring succour to what he called "*the astonished eagles.*" Maret expressed a similar opinion, and suggested severe measures against the royalists and disaffected, in such unequivocal terms, as called forth a burst of disapprobation from many of the auditors. La Fayette considered that the measures proposed by Count Regnault would only aggravate the calamities of the country. The fine army which had covered the frontier was now no more, and it was under the walls of Paris that the scattered troops of France would be obliged to unite, to dispute with the enemy the possession of the capital. Of the issue of the contest he had no doubt, but it would be long and dreadful, filling the country with widows and orphans. It had been proposed

that while this appeal should be made to French valour, the Emperor should treat for peace in the most dignified manner—but, he asked, would their enemies, now crowned with victory, be likely to abandon that line of conduct which they had adopted, when the issue of the contest was uncertain? One plan alone he saw which could save the country from a bloody and ruinous war, and he referred to the great and generous spirit of the Emperor to discover its nature. Lanjuinais and Constant supported the sentiments of La Fayette; and another member even ventured to hint, that a change of government was necessary. Napoleon now perceiving the turn which the debate was taking, began to appear dissatisfied; and after he had conversed a few minutes with Carnot and Lucien, the former urged, that while the Ministers should propose a law for the raising of men and money, the Chambers should be invited to choose a deputation to treat with the Allied Sovereigns. The impracticability of this measure was evident to all; but its adoption answered the purpose of both parties, as they equally wished to gain time to strike some decisive blow, for which neither was yet prepared.

Constitutionalists, Royalists, and Republicans, were all at this period united in the opinion, that the abdication of Napoleon was the first step to the salvation of the country: but the greatest caution and celerity were necessary to the accomplishment

of their object, as some fugitive soldiers were beginning to arrive from the North, with whom the inhabitants of the *Fauxbourgs* were ready to unite in the cause of the Emperor, and probably renew the horrible scenes which had disgraced the early period of the Revolution. Were the present moment permitted to pass unimproved, a few days or hours might enable Napoleon to assemble such a force as would render every effort against his authority abortive.

The friends of peace passed the night of the 21st in preparations for the important business of the ensuing day. The deputies assembled at an early hour on the 22d, and two hours were passed in great agitation while they anxiously awaited the appearance of the Ministers. At length General Grenier presented himself as the reporter of the committee, who stated as the opinion resulting from their deliberations, that the Chambers should nominate a commission to treat with the coalesced powers, and support their negotiations by a prompt developement of the national force : and he intimated, that they might shortly expect to receive a message from the Emperor, recommending the adoption of this measure in the first instance ; but that should he prove an invincible obstacle to the nation being admitted to treat for its independence, he would be ready to make any sacrifice that might be demanded of him.

This was considered by most of the members as

an artful attempt of Napoleon to gain time, till an opportunity would present itself of rushing upon them, and establishing his former despotism ; and loud murmurs of indignation were heard from every quarter of the assembly. When the tumult had in some degree subsided, M. Duchesne arose, and after exposing the futility of the project which had been recommended to them, declared it to be his opinion, that they had no other certain resource left than to engage the Emperor, in the name of a suffering country, to declare his abdication. A hundred voices cried, "Seconded ! Seconded !" — The uproar became deafening, and the president intreated in vain, that they should wait for the Emperor's message. The attention of the assembly was at length arrested by the voice of General Solignac, whose courage and inflexible patriotism had long rendered him the object of Napoleon's irreconcilable hatred. He declared, that while he shared in the uneasiness of M. Duchesne respecting the safety of the empire, yet it appeared to him important to preserve to the Chamber the honour of not having proposed an object, which ought to be the free concession of the monarch. He therefore moved, that a deputation of five members should be appointed to wait on the Emperor, and express to his Majesty the urgency of his decision. This proposal was received with great satisfaction ; but as it was intimated to the General that a message from the Emperor might be shortly ex-

pected, he proposed an adjournment for an hour, which was acceded to.

Solignac availed himself of this interval to wait upon Napoleon, who since the period when the Council broke up on the preceding evening, had withstood all the arguments of his Ministers to consent to an abdication. In vain they pointed out the determination of the Allies never to treat with him, and the impossibility of resisting their victorious progress. He seemed still anxious to cling to a throne which was the darling object of his ambition, and which he had recovered in so singular a manner: but present circumstances forbade him to take that decisive step which his brother Lucien had recommended to him, as affording the only chance for even a temporary possession of his authority. During these conferences the agitation of his mind appeared to be extreme: but at length, as if to rid himself of the importunity of his Ministers, he gave a conditional promise, that if the negotiations of the Chambers should fail, he would make the sacrifice which they suggested. He then retired to his Cabinet, where he anxiously awaited information of the proceedings of the Legislature. Bulletins were brought to him every quarter of an hour, and the nature of their contents were perceptible in his countenance: he said little to the Ministers or Counsellors of State, who frequently entered his apartment, but employed his time in signing the numerous papers which

covered the table: he conferred the Legion of Honour on many who had distinguished themselves at Waterloo; and, as if he wished to close his political career by the pleasing exercise of mercy, he searched the whole heap for every pardon, to which, without reading, he quickly affixed his name. Lucien now arrived, and made a last effort to excite him to energetic measures against the Chambers. He intimated, that if he did not instantly exercise the prerogative of dissolution, the representatives would proceed to extremities, and would pronounce his forfeiture. "Forfeiture!" exclaimed Napoleon, "they dare not." "They will dare any thing," replied his brother, "if you dare nothing." Lucien immediately quitted the apartment, and returned to his carriage, saying to a Secretary as he passed, "The smoke of the battle of St. Jean has turned his head—he is a lost man!"

The appalling word "Forfeiture," however, appeared for a moment to recall his wonted decision of character. He sent in haste for Davoust, the Minister at War, and asked abruptly what force he could lead against the Legislative Assembly, if he were driven to extremities? The Minister replied, that he was too well acquainted with the enlightened and patriotic views of Napoleon to believe, that he seriously meditated any attack on the representatives of the nation; and that no force which he or the world could muster, would be

able permanently to triumph over the independence of France. "I understand you," replied Napoleon, "my sun is set!" He then shut himself up in his cabinet for an hour, during which he rapidly paced the room, uttering the most violent exclamations. When he returned to the Hall of Audience, he found Counts Boulay and Regnault engaged in opening despatches. They handed a letter to the Emperor which appeared to be from an anonymous writer, and recommended his abdication.* "Abdicate! I abdicate!" said Napoleon vehemently, "What think you of this, Count Regnault?" "Sire," replied the Count, "I have

* This letter has been attributed to M. Regnault de Watier, author of *Cinq Mois de l'Histoire de France*. The following has been circulated as its substance, and it contains such a lively epitome of the career of Napoleon as must justify its insertion in this place:—

"Nature had done much for you, fortune still more. Born in an age of illumination and freedom; succeeding to all the power of the Revolution, when experience, too dearly bought, had warned us of all its fatal errors, you should have established that epoch which was always the object of our wishes, in which genius would employ revolutions for the purpose of infusing philosophy into the science of politics, and conducting the nation to happiness. That happiness consisted in the stability and dignity of a legitimate government, approved by the free choice of the people. It consisted in the liberty of the citizens—liberty without licentiousness, and the enjoyment of rights honoured by the performance of duties. Behold the benefits which France expected from your judgment, your talents, and your gratitude! What has she received? She has been called to support with her treasure and her blood an ambition always devouring and never satisfied. She

sworn fidelity to you ! I have kept my oath ; and I would now die at the foot of your throne in defending you from insult. But I have duties to my country to perform, and they imperiously require me to declare to your Majesty, that you can no longer defend the independence and rights of the nation." At this moment General Solignac was announced. "Solignac !" exclaimed Napoleon, with amazement ; "I have not spoken to him for five years. What can he want of me ?" The General entered, and stated that the purport of his visit was to acquaint his Majesty with the disposition of the Chambers, and to intreat him to

has been presented with the phantoms of glory instead of the substantial blessings of liberty ; and after unheard-of sacrifices, now finds herself exposed to the rage of embattled Europe, and trembling on the verge of destruction.

"The chastisement of a hero (for if Attila, Genghis, and Tamerlane, were heroes, you are one also,) always consists in his fall. Your's is resolved upon : and that history may find it legal, as well as your cotemporaries may think it legitimate, it is the public authority which is about to pronounce it. Your accomplices cannot exclaim that it is the work of Calmuck bayonets. You may, however, anticipate it. Reserve to yourself the honour of descending from a throne, that you may not be torn from it. This is the advice of an honest enemy, who often admired, but who never feared you ; and who, at the price of his blood, would have wished to have revered in you the saviour of the world, of which you have been the scourge. That enemy cannot leave him whom his own genius and the nation would have made a sovereign, without pronouncing that word which a friend (provided he has one remaining) should not withhold—*Abdicate*.

PHILADELPHIN."

prevent the disgrace of forfeiture by a speedy abdication. This word, forfeiture, again aroused Napoleon's angry feelings; but Solignac suffering the storm to pass, returned to the charge, and pointed out the desperate situation in which he was placed, and that a voluntary abdication was the only measure which he could adopt consistent with honor and interest. But these arguments would have failed of their intended effect, had not Solignac proposed that he should abdicate in favour of his son, and that he might still be, though not the actual, the virtual ruler of France. Napoleon, at length, yielded a reluctant consent to this latter project, and calling a Secretary, he ordered him to draw up the following declaration:—

“FRENCHMEN! In announcing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me. Circumstances appear to me to be changed. I offer myself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed them against my power. My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son under the title of Napoleon II. Emperor of the French. The present Ministers will form provisionally the Council of the Government. The interest which I take in my

“ son, induces me to invite the Chambers to form
“ the Regency by a law without delay. Unite all
“ for the public safety, in order to remain an inde-
“ pendent nation.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.”

Solignac carried this important paper to the Hall of the Deputies; it was received with great respect, and those who had most eagerly demanded the declaration of Napoleon's forfeiture, were now loud in expressions of gratitude for the sacrifice which he had made. It was decreed on the motion of La Fayette, that his person and interests should be placed under the protection of the national honour: and in pursuance of another decree, the President, Lanjuinais, with the Vice-Presidents and Secretaries, repaired to the Palace, to present to Napoleon the thanks of the Chamber, for his noble sacrifice for the independence and happiness of France. He received the deputation, for the last time, in imperial state, surrounded by all the officers of his household and a strong body of his guard. He looked pale and pensive, but sufficiently firm, and heard with little emotion the empty praises which were lavished on his abdication. His reply was short and energetic. “ I thank
“ you,” he said, “ for the sentiments you express.
“ I recommend to the Chamber to reinforce the
“ armies, and to place them in the best state of de-

“fence—those who wish for peace ought to prepare for war. Do not expose this great nation to the mercy of the foreigner, lest you be disappointed in your hopes. In whatever situation I may be placed, I shall be happy if France be free and independent. In transferring the right, which France has given me, to my son, during my life, I make this great sacrifice only for the welfare of the nation, and the interests of my son, whom I therefore proclaim Emperor.”

The President observed, that the Assembly had charged him with no commission on the latter point. “I told you so,” said Napoleon aside to Lucien; “I knew they would not, or could not do it:” then addressing the President, he added, “Tell the Assembly, that I recommend my son to them; it is in his favour I have abdicated.”

The government being now without a head, it became necessary to appoint a Commission, to administer it provisionally. But the accession of Napoleon II. still continued to be a grand point of litigation between Bonaparte and the two Chambers, the great majority of the members appearing determined to set aside his dynasty altogether. The Chamber of Peers had, on the morning of that day, presented one of those extraordinary scenes which had been so frequently exhibited in the French Legislative Assemblies, till the iron sceptre of Napoleon had repressed all freedom of discus-

sion. Carnot having stated that the gratifying intelligence had been received from the army, that two thousand of the Old Guard had joined Marshal Soult near Mezieres, and that Grouchy, after a glorious victory at Wavre, had led back an army of sixty thousand men, who would speedily be joined from the interior by ten thousand more, and two hundred pieces of cannon, was contradicted by Marshal Ney in the language of a man writhing under misfortune and disgrace. "The report," he said, "is false—false in every respect. Dare they tell eye-witnesses of the disastrous day of the 18th, that we have yet sixty thousand soldiers embodied? Grouchy cannot have under him twenty, or five and twenty thousand soldiers at the utmost. Not a man of the Guard will ever rally more. I myself commanded them—I myself witnessed their total extermination, ere I left the field of battle—They are annihilated—The enemy is at Nivelles with eighty thousand men; they may, if they please, be at Paris in six days—There is no safety for France, but in instant propositions for peace." Being contradicted by General Flahault, he continued in a lower tone, "Yes! I repeat it—your only course is by negotiation—you must recal the Bourbons; and for me I will retire to the United States." Here a torrent of reproaches were levelled against him, particularly by Lavallete and Carnot, to which he replied with sullen contempt, "I am not one of those to whom their interest is

every thing : what should I gain by the restoration of Louis, excepting being shot for desertion ; but I must speak the truth for the sake of the country."

This stormy scene was interrupted by the arrival of the Emperor's abdication. The Imperialists, perceiving from expressions dropped from several of the members, that a plan was in agitation unfavourable to the dynasty of Napoleon, conceived this was the proper moment for bringing the matter to the test ; and Lucien Bonaparte opened the proceedings by insisting that the Chamber should follow the line of the Constitution, recognize Napoleon II. as Emperor of the French, and swear fidelity to him. " There can be," said he, " no actual cessation between the Emperor who dies or abdicates, and his successor. The Emperor is dead—Long live the Emperor ! The Emperor has abdicated—Long live the Emperor !" He was interrupted by Count Pontecoulant, who declared, that though he was indebted to Napoleon for every thing, and had remained faithful to him until he released him from his oath, yet he could not acknowledge an infant, or one residing out of France, to be sovereign of that country. He considered that the adoption of the resolution would be the means of kindling the torch of civil war, and shutting the door against negotiation. Boissy d'Anglas cautioned the Assembly against dissensions : they had accepted the abdication unanimously :

their only business now was to appoint a provisional government. He hoped they would be able to check the progress of the foreigner, but they should not deprive themselves of the means of treating with him.

The impetuous Labedoyere, provoked at this hesitation of the Peers to recognize the title of Napoleon II. exclaimed with vehemence, "The Emperor has abdicated solely in behalf of his son. His resignation is null if his son be not instantly proclaimed. And who are they who oppose this generous resolution? Those whose voices had been always at the sovereign's devotion while in prosperity; who fled from him in adversity, and who already hasten to receive the yoke of foreigners. Yes! if you refuse to acknowledge the Imperial Prince, I declare, that Napoleon must again draw his sword—again shed blood. At the head of the brave Frenchmen who have bled in his cause, we will rally around him; and woe to the base generals who are, perhaps, even now, meditating new treasons. I demand that they be impeached, and punished as deserters of the national standard,—that their names be given to infamy, their houses razed, their families proscribed and exiled. We will endure no traitors amongst us. Napoleon, in resigning his power to save the nation, has done his duty; but the nation is not worthy of him, since she has a second time compelled him to abdicate—she who vowed to abide

by him in prosperity and reverses." Cries of order! order! now arose on every side; Massena cried out, "Young man! you forget yourself." Lameth observed, that he must suppose himself among the *corps-de-garde*, and the voice of Labedoyere was drowned, at length, amidst violent exclamations. A proposal of Count Cornudet terminated this scandalous scene. "We are disputing," said he, "on words. The minutes of the Chamber recognize the abdication of Napoleon: they will also record the claims of Prince Lucien, and that precaution will suffice to guard the rights of Napoleon II.; but he is out of France—to speak plainly, he is a prisoner. Under these circumstances what does the public safety and the national independence require?—The establishment of a Provisional Government, capable of adopting measures for the public safety." The proposition of Count Cornudet was instantly carried, and the Ministers, Fouché, Caulaincourt, and Carnot, with General Grenier, and Quinette, the advocate, were nominated a Commission to exercise the government provisionally.

The first act of the Provisional Government was to issue a proclamation to the French people, in which they stated that Napoleon had abdicated, and that his son had been proclaimed Emperor. They also stated that plenipotentiaries had been sent to the Allied Powers, to negotiate that peace

which had been promised on one condition which was now fulfilled ; they promised a further revision of that constitution which had been accepted not a month before, and in return called for those exertions and sacrifices which were necessary, at this critical juncture. But this address was not sufficient to calm the fury, which the indifference of the Peers with regard to his dynasty had excited in the breast of Napoleon. He declared, that he revoked his abdication, and expressed a determination to march instantly against the Chambers, and disperse them by force. The soldiers and federates manifested every disposition to support him, and many of the latter assembled in arms, with green boughs in their hats, to distinguish them. They rushed into the court of the Palace, shouting *Vive l'Empereur!* and demanded that Napoleon should lead them against his enemies. Bertrand replied to them, by command of his master, and after thanking them for their affectionate zeal, requested them for the present to disperse; but assured them, if the Emperor found it necessary, he would avail himself of their services. Some liquor and provisions were now distributed among them, and they moved off in different directions, spreading terror through the capital, They attempted to seize the posts at the Mint and Palais-Royal, and to storm the hotel of Fouché near the Rue des Saints-Peres : but the exertions of thirty thousand National Guards under

arms prevented serious mischief, and this appeared evidently a trial of strength preparatory to an expected struggle on the coming day.

Napoleon was restrained with the greatest difficulty from fulfilling his threat. He exclaimed with vehemence, "If they break their faith with me, my resignation is null and void. Have I not the army, have I not the federates at my command? Can I not crush them in an instant, and shall I suffer myself and my family to be betrayed and destroyed?" Many of his best friends besought him not to adopt a line of proceeding which could not fail to produce the most disastrous results, as though he might succeed in dispersing the Chambers, his power would not last three days. They intreated him at least, to wait for the result of the discussion in the Chamber of Deputies on the following day, which would probably prove more favourable. To this he gave, at length, a reluctant consent, saying, "Well! I will wait the event of to-morrow; but let them beware how they trifle with me, or forget the terms of my abdication."

The Deputies met at an early hour on the following morning, and a very warm debate soon commenced on a motion of M. Defermon for acknowledging Napoleon II. The party who supported the motion declared, that leaving the throne vacant at this moment was, in fact, soliciting the foreign powers to fill it; and some members asserted, that the delay was an artifice of the Bourbon or

Orleans faction. It was urged, on the other hand, that the same circumstances of external danger which had led the Chamber to solicit the abdication of the father, concurred with his foreign residence and non-age, to oppose the succession of the son. This clashing of sentiment might have led to serious consequences, but for the ingenuity of Manuel, the reputed organ of Fouché, who moved that the Chamber should pass to the order of the day, on the ground that there was no occasion for acknowledging Napoleon II.; since, by the constitution, his reign was already begun, and he was actually in possession of the throne in which it was proposed to place him. This acknowledgment of the title of Napoleon II. appeared to satisfy the partizans of the Imperial dynasty, and the motion was carried: but when it was proposed to swear fidelity to the new sovereign, some voices exclaimed, "No more oaths:" others declared that they were unnecessary, and the Chamber adjourned.

The conditions on which Napoleon had resigned being thus virtually complied with, he became more tranquil, and declined the assistance of the federates; but they, not so easily pacified, still kept the capital in alarm, while the infuriated countenances of the troops of the line betokened their readiness to support any plan of resistance to the proceedings of the Legislature. These symptoms of disaffection to the present order of things, occasioned much anxiety among the members of

the Provisional Government, Fouché, therefore, waited on Napoleon in its name, hinted the necessity of his retiring from the metropolis, and of issuing a proclamation to the army, acknowledging the fact of his abdication, which they were so unwilling to believe from any other authority. Napoleon, as he had advanced too far to recede, found it necessary to comply with this request, and he accordingly issued the following address to the army:—

“SOLDIERS!—While obeying the necessity which
“removes me from the French army, I carry with
“me the happy certainty that it will justify, by the
“eminent services which the country expects from
“it, the praises which our enemies themselves have
“not been able to refuse it. Soldiers! I shall follow
“your steps though absent. I know all the
“corps: and not one of them will obtain a single
“advantage over the enemy, but I shall give it
“credit for the courage it may have displayed.
“Both you and I have been calumniated. Men
“very unfit to appreciate our labours, have seen
“in the marks of attachment which you have
“given me, a zeal of which I was the sole object.
“Let your future successes tell them, that it was
“the country above all things, which you served
“in obeying me; and that if I had any share in
“your affection, I owed it to my ardent love for
“France, our common mother.—Soldiers! some
“efforts more, and the coalition is dissolved—Na-

“napoleon will recognize you by the blows which
“you are going to strike—Save the honour, the
“independence of the French! Be the same men
“which I have known you for the last twenty
“years, and you will be invincible.

(Signed)

NAPOLÉON.”

The forcible appeal to the affections of the troops, which this proclamation contained, together with the total absence of any formal renunciation of the Imperial dignity, rendered the Provisional Government more urgent for his speedy departure from the capital, especially as fugitive soldiers from the wreck of Waterloo were daily arriving, maddened with their defeat, and calling for new battles. They were also convinced that the Allied Sovereigns would refuse to treat with them, while the presence of Napoleon might be supposed in any degree to influence the negotiations. His late Ministers, however, were not indifferent to his personal safety: they had already provided a fast sailing vessel at Rochfort, whither he might now have proceeded without molestation, and effected his escape to America. But his reluctance to resign all hope of returning to power, was not yet to be overcome, and he is said to have solicited permission from the Provisional Government, once more, to lead the army against the enemies of France, not as Emperor, but as Gene-

ralissimo to his son: they, however, knew the temper of the man too well to accept the hazardous proposal, and he, at length, retired to the palace of Malmaison, near St. Germain, which had long been the favourite residence of the repudiated Josephine. Here Napoleon found himself virtually a prisoner, surrounded by Fouché's police. General Beker, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, was appointed to guide his movements, and to urge him, by all possible means, to hasten to Rochfort. In this he succeeded with less difficulty than was expected, and from the moment when he signified his assent, this singular man appeared to be more occupied with making provision for his personal comfort, than with regret for the greatness from which he had just been precipitated. He now assumed a degree of tranquillity to which he had long been a stranger, and to an early friend, who when taking leave of him, burst into tears, he said, "Do not give way to your feelings—in a crisis so difficult, we must use resolution, and not sensibility." In a long conversation which ensued, he appeared calm, but sometimes melancholy, and allowed, that in the late transactions he had committed two faults—the first was leaving the army; and the other, getting into a discussion with the Chambers, when he might have divided or dissolved them. "When" said he, "I spoke to them of the wants of the country, *men, cannon, and money*, they answered me with the *Rights of Men*, and the *Social*

Contract, and all was lost." He left Mal-maison for Rochfort on the 29th of June, accompanied by about forty attendants.

The fate of France was now near its crisis: its warlike chief had been once more compelled to relinquish his authority; and a hostile force, of at least nine hundred thousand men, was advancing on every side against the capital. Five Austrian armies had been put in motion since the 10th of June. The first of these, including a strong body of Russians, crossed the Rhine at Manheim on that day, and reached the Sarre without opposition on the 24th. The Bavarians, under Prince Wrede, forming the advanced-guard, took Sarreguemines by storm, and on the 26th, arrived in the neighbourhood of Nancy, the inhabitants of which presented the Bavarian General with the keys of the city, and declared for the Bourbons. Toul and Marescaux were invested by a part of the Bavarian army, and Prince Wrede, after dispersing some free corps who had attacked his baggage, advanced with the remainder to Chalons, where a brilliant affair took place. A hundred Bavarian hussars having surprised one of the gates, rushed into the town. The garrison instantly flew to arms, and shut the gate by which the assailants had entered, to cut off their retreat. But the hussars, undismayed by their perilous situation, charged through the town, overthrew every obstacle, and escaped by the opposite gate with inconsiderable loss.

In the mean time, the remainder of the advanced-guard came up to the succour of their comrades, and having blown open the gate with their flying guns, soon cleared the streets of the garrison, who, stunned by the daring intrepidity of their adversaries, immediately surrendered the place, and became prisoners of war.

Another Austrian army, under the Prince of Wirtemberg, and General Walmoden, crossed the Rhine at Philipsburgh, on the 24th of June, and masking the fortress of Landau, advanced into France. On the 26th they were vigorously opposed by the enemy, near Saarbourg, and the advanced-guard being taken by surprise, were compelled to retreat with considerable loss, till they fell in with the main body of their infantry, when a sanguinary contest ensued, which terminated in the defeat of the French, who were driven across the Saar. The Prince pursued the enemy on the following day, and drove General Rapp, who commanded a corps of eleven thousand men from Haguenau to Vendenheim, where the French General took up a fine position, his left being supported by some strong heights, and his right by the Rhine, with a rivulet in his front, which was fordable only at two points, and by a bridge over the high road. But the bravery and superior number of the Austrians enabled them to overcome these obstacles: the fords were carried at the point of the bayonet, and the cavalry, passing

the bridge at full speed, bore down all before them. Five pieces of cannon were taken, with several hundred prisoners, and Rapp was compelled to retreat to Strasburg, which was immediately invested by the victorious Austrians.

The Archduke Ferdinand, with a third Austrian army, crossed the Rhine near Gunzach, on the 25th, and occupied Basle. On the 27th he attacked General Lecourbe, and drove him from his position near Wickelsheim, with great slaughter; and following up his success defeated him on the 28th in his strong position, between Donnemarie and Belfort, with the loss of a thousand men and several pieces of artillery. The Archduke continued to drive the enemy from one strong post to another, till Lecourbe's army was reduced to four thousand men; and after taking Chevreumont, Bessencourt, and Montbelliard by storm, the Austrians advanced on the road to Langres, in full communication with the army under the Prince of Wirtemberg.

Two Austrian armies advanced at the same time from Italy. The first under General Frimont, crossed the Arve, near Geneva, on the 28th of June, and instantly checked the progress which Suchet was making in that quarter. They compelled him to abandon the valley of the Arve, and the city of Geneva, of which Suchet had obtained possession; and after driving the French from the heights of Savonen, they advanced towards Paris

by way of Chalons. Count Bubna passed Mont Cenis on the same day, and carried the *tete-de-pont* of Arly, near Conflans, after a bloody action, and thus opened the road into the interior of France along the Swiss frontier.

The Grand Russian Army, with which were united strong corps of Austrian and Prussian troops, crossed the Rhine at Spiers on the 27th, and headed by the Allied Sovereigns, advanced into France by the route of Haguenau and Saarburgh. But from these comparatively minor movements, we must revert to the operations of the British and Prussian armies, to whose lot it fell, to complete the great work which they had so brilliantly begun.

After the victory at Waterloo, it had been agreed upon by the British and Prussian Generals, that without paying any attention to the strong barrier towns of Lisle and Valenciennes, they should press forward with all possible rapidity to Paris. In accordance with this resolution, Blucher passed the Sambre on the day after the battle, and penetrated into France by Beaumont. Here he published an address to his army, which was perfectly characteristic of this intrepid warrior. He justly eulogized the unshaken bravery of his soldiers, who after the loss of one bloody battle, had marched with firmness to fight another. Relying on the God of battles, and confident in their commanders, they had persevered in their efforts

against presumptuous and perjured enemies, intoxicated with their victory, and advanced to support the brave English while maintaining the most arduous contest with unparalleled firmness. While the fate of the day was still undecided, they had issued from the forest, penetrated the already wavering columns of the enemy with the rapidity of lightning, and avenged the reverses which they had experienced two days before, by pouring death into his ranks, and scattering his battalions in every direction. Hundreds of cannon had fallen into their hands, and the French army was dissolved. The annals of Europe would eternize their triumphs, and on their immoveable columns the destinies of the King and his august house would for ever repose!

The following day Blucher advanced to Avesnes, which seemed disposed to make an obstinate defence; but the Prussians soon took it by escalade, and entered the town with a fury, that evinced their determination to avenge the horrible devastation which had been committed by the enemy in their own country. Forty-five pieces of cannon were taken in the town, and Blucher, to convince the French that they were a conquered nation, ordered the garrison to be employed at working on the fortifications of Cologne. The veteran then directed his march on La Fere and Laon, where the wreck of the French army was collecting, and detaching a corps on his right, he occupied St.

Quentin which had been abandoned by the enemy. The French retired on his approach to Laon, and his whole progress manifested a stern determination that France should experience a portion of that misery which she had inflicted in the days of her prosperity on other nations. A desolated country and deserted villages marked the line of the Prussian march. The unfortunate peasants who took refuge in the woods, generally left their houses locked up, but the soldiers regularly broke them open by discharging a musket through the key-hole, which shattered all the wards at once, and then the house and furniture became speedily a heap of ruin. The produce of the fields was either destroyed, or conveyed to the Prussian headquarters; and from one hill to another, little was to be seen but armed bands of every description in search of plunder.

Very different was the picture presented by the country on the British line of march. The Duke of Wellington found it necessary to rest his army a day after the severe action at Waterloo. They entered the French territory on the 20th of June, and the British Chief immediately issued an Order of the Day at Binche, in which he called upon the troops of the different nations composing his army, to recollect, that their respective Sovereigns were the Allies of his Majesty the King of France, and that they ought, therefore, to treat France as a friendly country. It required that nothing should be

taken without payment, and the commissaries were ordered to pass regular receipts for all provisions supplied to the troops. These orders were obeyed with the strictest punctuality. No violence was committed on public or private property; the troops paid liberally for every thing they required, and their moderation so tranquillized the minds of the inhabitants, that the approach of the English was every where welcomed by the people. Indeed, so sedulously did the soldiers attend, not only to the letter, but the spirit of the orders issued by their illustrious commander, that when the road lay through a field of corn, where the path was narrow, they uniformly halted, and broke into files of two or three abreast, so that their track was scarcely perceptible. Thus they pursued their march amidst the blessings of a people, who had been taught to rank the English nation amongst their most deadly foes.

On the 20th the Duke of Wellington reached Malplaquet, where he issued a proclamation to the French nation, in which he announced to them that he had passed their boundaries, to relieve them from the iron yoke by which they were oppressed. He called upon them to comply with the requisitions that would be made by regularly authorized persons, to avoid all communication or correspondence with the usurper and his adherents; and he declared, that all who should be found absent from their dwellings, or attached to the service of the

usurper, should be considered to be his partisans, and public enemies, and that their property should be devoted to the subsistence of the forces. These measures produced the most salutary effects on the minds of the inhabitants, and the white flag, the emblem of returning loyalty, was raised in almost every place along the British line of march.

On the 22d, the Duke of Wellington's headquarters were at Cateau-Cambresis, from whence his Grace detached Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Colville, with the 35th, 54th, 69th, and 91st regiments, and the 7th, and 15th hussars, commanded by Sir Colquhoun Grant, to make an attack on Cambray: but the strength of the place having been found greater than was expected, General Colville was reinforced with the 14th, 23d, and 51st regiments on the following day. The Governor was summoned to surrender in the name of Louis XVIII. on the 23d; but this proving ineffectual, the British general, knowing that he had neither time nor means for a regular siege, came to the gallant resolution to attempt the town by escalade, though the walls were, in some places, above fifty feet high. The troops commenced the attack on four different points, in the evening of the 24th. Colonel Sir Neil Campbell, of the 54th, broke open the Valenciennes gate, and by means of temporary draw-bridges, entered the place in half an hour. Colonel Mitchell had similar suc-

cess against the Paris gate : and while Sir William Douglas of the 91st, escaladed part of the *escarpe* which communicated with a large ravelin on the Amiens road, Captain Sharpe of the Royal Engineers, forced the outer-gates of the Corre Port in the horn-work, and passed both ditches by means of the rails of the horn-work. These various attacks were powerfully supported by the fire of the British artillery and light infantry, and facilitated by the good disposition of the inhabitants, some of whom pointed out the most favourable points of attack, actually handed ladders to the assailants over the walls, and assisted them to climb the battlements. The town was now completely evacuated by the enemy, who retired to the citadel, except one hundred and thirty who were taken prisoners, and this gallant exploit was accomplished with the trifling loss of forty men on the part of the conquerors.

Intelligence of this important conquest was immediately transmitted to Louis XVIII. who was urged to hasten his progress, that he might have the honour of receiving the surrender of the citadel. This event took place on the 25th ; and on the following day, the King made his public entry into Cambray, amidst acclamations similar to those which, about a fortnight before, had greeted the approach of Napoleon's troops—so versatile is the nature of popular applause ! The most respectable young men of Cambray, hastily formed

a guard of honour for the King, while young ladies scattered flowers before the monarch. The populace unharnessed the horses from his carriage, and drew him in triumph to the Town Hall. For two nights the city was illuminated, and the whole of the population, separated into groups of singers and dancers, appeared to have abandoned themselves to a delirium of joy. Louis announced his return to the French territory, in a proclamation dated the 28th of June, in which he stated, that he hastened to bring back his misled subjects to their duty, to mitigate the calamities which he had wished to prevent, and to place himself, a second time, between the Allies and the French armies, in the hope, that the feelings of consideration of which he might be the object, might lead to their preservation. As this was the only part in which he wished to take a place in the war, he had not permitted any prince of his family to appear in foreign ranks. When he had first re-appeared among them, he had to encounter difficulties and obstacles on every side, from the conflicting passions of men—his government was, therefore, liable to errors, and perhaps it did commit them. The experience he had learned should not be lost. His subjects had also learned by cruel trials, that the principle of the legitimacy of sovereigns was one of the fundamental bases of well-ordered liberty. This he had consecrated by his Charter, and now he claimed to add to that Charter all the

guarantees which could secure its benefits. To the common enemy he attributed the false and calumnious reports of an intention to restore tithes and feudal rights, and to dispossess the purchasers of national property. But his past conduct had been a sufficient refutation of those calumnies. He now assured the nation, that as all his subjects, of every class, had given him equal proofs of love and fidelity, he delighted to choose from among all Frenchmen, those who were to approach his person and family, excluding none from his person but those whose celebrity was matter of grief to France, and of horror to Europe. In the plot which they contrived, many of his subjects had been misled, and some guilty. He promised to pardon all misled Frenchmen, and to pass over all that had passed since the day when he quitted Lisle with so many tears, up to the day when he re-entered Cambray, amidst so many acclamations. But the blood of his people had flowed in consequence of a treason of which the annals of the world presented no example. That treason had summoned foreigners into the heart of France, and every day revealed a new disaster. He owed it then to the dignity of his crown, to the interest of his people, and the repose of Europe, to except from pardon the instigators and authors of this horrible plot, who should be designated to the vengeance of the laws by the two Chambers, which he proposed to assemble. Such he declared to be the senti-

ments of a King, whom time had not been able to change, nor calamities, fatigues, nor injustice make to stoop—A King, whose fathers had reigned over their's for eight centuries, and who now returned to consecrate the remainder of his days in defending and consoling them.

In the mean while the Allied Army continued its successful progress to the French capital. On the 26th, the Duke of Wellington approached Peronne, formerly called Peronne la Pucelle, or the Virgin Fortress, from its having never been taken. After the usual preliminary of a summons had been rejected, General Maitland with the first brigade of Guards, carried the horn-work on the left of the Somme by storm, and the place immediately capitulated. Quesnoy surrendered on the 28th, to Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, after a short bombardment, which set the town on fire in three places. The delay occasioned by these operations caused Blucher's army to gain a day's march in advance of the British; and on the 26th, they occupied a line from Senlis through Villers Coterets, to La Ferté Milon, which interposed the whole Prussian army between Paris and the French troops under Soult and Grouchy, who now advanced as far as Soissons towards the capital. Alarmed at their perilous situation, the enemy made a desperate attempt to break through the Prussian centre at Villers Coterets, and thus force their way to Paris: but they were repulsed with

the loss of a thousand prisoners, and six pieces of cannon. Making, however, a rapid movement to the right, they eluded every attempt to cut them off, and crossing the Marne, then gained the road to Paris through Meaux, and arrived without further loss under the walls of the capital. The Allies now pressed their march without molestation. On the 28th, Marshal Blucher reached the neighbourhood of the capital by the direct road from Senlis; and on the following day the Duke of Wellington passed the Oise, and established himself with his right at Rochbourg, and his left at the Bois de Bondy.

The arrival of the corps of Grouchy and Vandamme, increased the force for the defence of the capital to seventy thousand men, and consequently added weight to the negotiations which the French had already commenced. La Fayette, Pontecoulant, and three others, were appointed Plenipotentiaries for this purpose, having Benjamin Constant for their Secretary; and they were sent forward to the head-quarters of the Allied Sovereigns at Haguenau. Fouché and Davoust, in the mean time, addressed letters to the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher, requesting an armistice. The Duke returned a polite refusal; but Blucher sternly replied, that Paris and France were at his mercy—he came to help the honest men against the knaves, and he warned Davoust not to treat Paris as he had done Hamburg.

When the French Plenipotentiaries arrived at Haguenau, the following commissioners were appointed to treat with them, viz. Count Walmoden for Austria; Count Capo d'Istria, for Russia; and General Kousebeck for Prussia. Lord Stewart, though not invested with any direct powers, was invited to attend on the part of England. The conferences were opened on the 1st of July; when the French commissioners declared, that Napoleon had abdicated the throne, and that the government were adopting measures to prevent his ever exercising any influence over the affairs of France. To secure this it was proposed, on the opposite side, that Napoleon should be delivered unconditionally into the power of the Allies: but La Fayette replied, that as the Emperor had voluntarily abdicated the throne, that he might be no obstacle to the welfare of France, he was under the protection of the national honour and gratitude, and the demand was immediately waived. It soon, however, appeared evident, that these negotiations would not lead to any pacific result, for the Allies were resolved to cripple the power and humble the vanity of France; and to restore the Bourbons, if it should be found practicable without extreme hazard. The negotiations were consequently broken off; and it was subsequently discovered, that Fouché, the President of the Provisional Government, had already commenced a secret correspondence with Louis XVIII.

in which he offered his services for the restoration of the monarch, on condition, that vindictive measures should be avoided, and an extensive amnesty proclaimed as speedily as possible.

The government and legislature of France were, at this time, placed in circumstances of great difficulty. The New Constitution, which had been accepted at the Champ-de-Mai, had vested the hereditary right of the crown in Napoleon and his dynasty, to the exclusion, under any circumstances, of the Bourbon family. Still these rulers shewed little reluctance to abandon the cause of Napoleon II. provided the Allies did not insist upon the restoration of the Bourbons. The French soldiers and federates, on the other hand, gave manifest symptoms that their adhesion was not to the Provisional Government, but to the cause of Napoleon; and when the disbanded soldiers, who crowded the roads to the capital, were invited by the national representatives to assist in its defence, their reply was, "Why should we fight any more?—we have no longer an Emperor." The Royalists, in the mean time, were increasing in boldness, and gaining daily accession from the Constitutionalists; and as it was generally understood by the citizens of Paris, that Louis must soon return to the capital, every offensive caricature against him and his family quickly disappeared. These feelings would probably have been still more general, but for the fears entertained by the Constitu-

tionists and Imperialists, that the King would be disposed to adopt vindictive measures. Yet every plan of the representatives to arouse a spirit of enthusiasm in defence of the country failed of success. The sounds of *Vive l'Empereur*, and *Vive la Nation*, had lost their charm, and the prevailing opinion seemed to be, that resistance upon any ground, or in any manner whatsoever, must prove totally ineffectual.

At this critical juncture, M. Malleville, a representative for the Department of Dordogne, had the courage to propose the restoration of Louis XVIII. in a letter addressed to the Chambers and the Provisional Government. He questioned their right of naming a new sovereign for France, and asserted, that their sole business was, if possible, to save the country from the dangers of anarchy. When the country was divided into two grand parties, the Bonapartists and Royalists, to reject both the sovereigns to which these parties were attached, and chuse a third, would be to oppose the wishes of nine-tenths of the population. On the part of Napoleon, the competition was ended by his abdication; there remained, therefore, but one candidate who possessed a party of well-wishers in France, and he was the ally of the invading sovereigns. These sovereigns had obtained over France the rights which victory had in all ages been supposed to confer; and without the interference of action and powerful mediation, it was probable that they

would use them to the uttermost, and that the dismemberment of France would be the certain result of a positive rejection of Louis XVIII.; and M. Malleville asserted, that he was neither a bad Frenchman, nor an indifferent patriot, who recommended the only measure which could preserve the honour, power, and territory of France. He insisted that it was under the reign of Louis XVIII. that a free constitution was first granted to France, which was afterwards destroyed by the predominance of Bonaparte. They were neither in a condition to observe or violate the article of the Additional Act, which excluded the Bourbons from the throne.—Louis XVIII. was called to re-mount the throne by the declared preference of the great body of the people, without the aid of the Chambers; and he called on the Representatives, and Provisional Government, to cease a fruitless and dangerous opposition, to which he urged their oath could not bind them, and which could only increase the fury of the factions, prolong the calamities of civil war, deprive the nation of the confidence of the King, and perhaps suggest to him the unhappy plan of supporting his authority by other force than that of the nation. He implored, therefore, all Frenchmen who loved liberty, and were anxious to obtain a free constitution, to hasten to acknowledge the King, while there was yet some merit in doing so; and instead of receiving a master from the hand of the invaders, to lay before him

voluntarily their own homage, and by this timely acknowledgment they would have the opportunity of pointing out the imprudence of his courtiers—the abuses of his ministry—and the alarm and suspicion that had been spread abroad among several classes of his subjects. Such respectful remonstrances could not fail to be favourably listened to by the Monarch; and thus, in resuming his crown, Louis would form a new compact with his subjects, confirming not only their former constitutional rights, but erecting a barrier against those acts, of real or apprehended aggression, which had been dwelt upon as justifying the interruption of the King's authority.

But the representatives of France were not yet prepared for this manly line of conduct, which supported, as it would have been, by Great Britain and Russia, must have obtained from Louis every concession which might be deemed necessary to secure the privileges of the nation. Malleville was furiously denounced as having *terrorized* the army by his audacious and criminal project; and Gareau proposed, that for the absurdity of his doctrines, he should be declared deranged, and sent to the hospital of lunatics.

At this moment, when the English and Prussian armies were in sight of the capital, and numerous bodies of the Allies pressing forward to their support, the Legislature assumed an attitude of firmness; and appeared resolved to defend the city at every risk. Much confidence

was placed in the improved state of the defences of Belleville and Montmartre, which had cost the Allies so much in the preceding year. These heights were now so completely strengthened by redoubts, entrenchments, and field-works, as to render the north side of the city apparently impregnable. For this purpose, six hundred pieces of artillery had been brought by order of Napoleon, from Brest and Havre. Two hundred of these were placed in a position on the line of Montmartre, the right flank of which rested on the Seine, and was strengthened by the castle and wood of Vincennes, and by a fort near the barrier du Trone. The left extended to St. Denis, the ancient mausoleum of the kings of France, which was converted into a place of arms, being entirely surrounded by ditches and entrenchments; and the level space between St. Denis and Montmartre, was inundated by two small brooks, and the canal de l'Ourcq. But on the opposite side of the Seine the capital was completely defenceless, the great plains of Grenelle, Montrouge, Bicetre, and Ivry, extending there to the walls of the city, which is merely an inclosure about ten feet high, to prevent smuggling. On this side, nothing but a numerous and determined army could present an effectual resistance to the invaders. The village of Issy and other hamlets, were, however, occupied as military posts, and fortified with palisades.

The Provisional Government and the Chambers

endeavoured, in vain, to gain the attachment of the troops to those abstract principles which they had proposed to be the ground of their continued resistance. *Vive l'Empereur* was yet their rallying-shout; and their continued hatred of the Bourbons was still manifested by an Address to the Chambers, signed by Davoust, Vandamme, Pajol, D'Erlon, and fifteen other general officers, in which they declared, that in consenting to the recal of the Bourbons, the representatives would subscribe the death-warrant of that army, which had been for twenty years the palladium of France, and that the Bourbons could offer no guarantee to the nation. These violent and impolitic sentiments were re-echoed by the Chamber of Representatives; but their effects were in a great measure counteracted by the judicious conduct of Fouché, who on the 27th of June, demanded an armistice from the Duke of Wellington, in a letter which, without stating the name of any individual, declared it to be the wish of the French nation to enjoy the same freedom as the English, and to live under a monarch who should himself be subject to the empire of the laws. An armistice was also demanded by Marshal Davoust, who commanded the army; and on the 1st of July, the Legislative Body issued a proclamation, in which they prudently avoided the name of the sovereign, and only pledged themselves never to acknowledge any chief of the state who should not ratify the rights of the na-

tion by a solemn compact. But, however acceptable these sentiments were to the British Minister and General, as members of a free state, they were convinced from the violent spirit manifested by the army and the Legislature, that it would be unwise to relax their preparations for getting possession of the capital—the Duke of Wellington, therefore, returned no reply to the proposal for an armistice ; but, in conjunction with the gallant Blucher, adopted the most judicious arrangements for the final conflict.

We have already stated, that the British and Prussian armies had arrived in the vicinity of the capital before the close of June. On the 30th of that month, Marshal Blucher attacked the village of Aubervilliers, and after a severe engagement, drove the French under the walls of Paris. This success would have enabled him to commence an attack on the heights of Belleville and Montmartre, but perceiving their great strength, he adopted the more judicious resolution of crossing the Seine at St. Germain, and attacking the city on the south, where it had been left completely uncovered by any strong works. Having effected the passage on the evening of the 30th, he advanced on Versailles, where he found the enemy ready to meet him, and a furious combat ensued, the town remaining many times alternately during the action in the power of the Prussians and the French. But the latter being ultimately forced

to abandon it, Blucher succeeded in establishing his right on the heights of Meudon, his left at St. Cloud, and his reserve at Versailles.

The Allies now perceived that they had to expect a strenuous opposition ; many battalions of national guards and federates being mingled with the troops of the line at Versailles, which intimated that the war was about to assume a national character. But still the Allied Generals refused to treat, except for the immediate possession of the city, which was now separated from them only by the plains of Grenelle and Montrouge, whose only defences were some garrisoned villages and a half-finished entrenchment. They might now have carried the capital by assault ; but anxious to avoid the sanguinary consequences of such a measure, they continued slowly their movements for investing it. In pursuance of this plan the Duke of Wellington, as soon as Prince Blucher had established himself at Meudon and St. Cloud, threw a bridge over the Seine at Argenteuil, and sent forward a strong corps towards the bridge of Neuilly, and thus Paris was completely invested on its defenceless side. Corps of observation were left, at the same time, on the northern side of the river, to restrain the excursions of the garrison, and maintain a communication with the armies of the Allies which were advancing. These cautious movements caused the Parisians to respire from the alarms which they had indulged, and though

long trains of the wounded continued to pass through the city, the promenades and theatres were crowded as in a time of profound peace. Famine being the object which the citizens appeared chiefly to dread, all who possessed money flocked in crowds to the market, and bought up every article of provision which could be procured, so that in a few days neither bread nor meat could be purchased at any price. The Duke of Wellington might have augmented this distress by intercepting the necessary supplies; but he nobly preferred imitating the example of Henry IV. on a similar occasion, and to the astonishment of the Parisians, all the necessaries of life regularly reached their destinations, after having been permitted to traverse the British camp without impediment.

This act of generosity on the part of the besiegers, tended to disarm the hostility of a very numerous party in the city, where the spirit of faction had already begun to rage with fearful violence. A few individuals were killed in the streets for exhibiting the lily, and shouting *Vive le Roi!* while on the other hand, some Royalists had the hardihood to spike several guns on the heights of Montmartre. Yet the army still seemed determined on resistance, and on the 2d of July another effort was made to break the lines of the Allies. The corps of Generals Vandamme and Girard, consisting of about twenty-five thousand infantry

and ten thousand cavalry, lay at this time in the plain of Montrouge, the cavalry occupying the Bois de Boulogne, while Montmartre was garrisoned by part of Grouchy's corps. At three in the morning General Excelmans made a vigorous attack on Versailles, which was occupied by only fifteen hundred Prussians, while General Piré moved on Rocquancourt. The French fought with all the fury of despair, and obtained temporary possession of Versailles; but the Prussians obtaining a speedy reinforcement, the assailants were repulsed at every point, and driven to the very gates of Paris. The besiegers now carried successively all the out-posts around the capital, and even the village of Issy close to its walls. The hostile armies were in presence of each other; Blucher had already sent for a battery of Congreve's rockets, with the apparent determination of making use of that terrible instrument of destruction, and a dreadful fate seemed to impend over this fine capital, while crowds of spectators viewed from the walls, the tremendous preparations which threatened to involve all they held dear in one common ruin. The army and the mob of the *fauxbourgs* still, however, appeared unintimidated—their courage seemed roused to frenzy, and they menaced the lives and properties of the adherents to the Bourbons with instant destruction. But their rage was calmed by a proclamation of Prince Blucher,

which denounced a severe retaliation if these outrages did not cease.

A grand Council of War was held during the following night, at which fifty general officers were present, two of whom only argued for the possibility of defending the capital. Soult and Massena strenuously urged pacific measures, the latter declaring, that his defence of Genoa might give some idea of his perseverance in maintaining a post confided to him; but situated as Paris was, he conceived it impossible to defend it any longer, and that no means of safety remained but in again suing for a suspension of arms. To this it was objected, that a suspension of arms had been so often solicited and refused, that no alternative seemed to remain but that of surrendering at discretion, or burying themselves under the ruins of the capital. The discussion was concluded by the adoption of a proposal of Carnot, that one battle more should be tried, and if the issue should prove unfortunate, commissioners should be sent to the Allies to treat for the surrender of the city on condition of a universal amnesty, and the safe retreat of the army behind the Loire. Should this be rejected, the army was desperately to cut its way through the enemy, leaving the Municipal Body to surrender the city on the best terms they could procure, as the only means of saving it from utter destruction. Another question of debate arose, whether the sur-

render should be tendered to the King of France, or to the Generals of the Allied Armies; but the opinion of Carnot ultimately prevailed, that it should take place as a mere military transaction, without reference to any political measure whatsoever.

The French made their last appeal to arms on the morning of the 3d of July—they fought with the most desperate fury, but were repulsed to the very gates of the city, and the citizens of Paris viewed, with unutterable anguish, the last struggle for their independence. Some had ventured to the bridge of Jena in their carriages; but they were respectfully commanded to alight, and their equipages were put in requisition to convey the wounded to Paris. Many fugitives now fled from the ramparts, crying that the Prussians were entering the city, and had it not been for the firmness of the National Guard the most dreadful scenes of pillage and confusion must have ensued. But the action was terminated about two o'clock in the afternoon, by the arrival of a herald from the Provisional Government to the Allied Generals, demanding a suspension of arms for a few hours, till commissioners should be appointed to treat of the surrender of the city. This was immediately acceded to by the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blücher; and the same evening, the Baron de Bignon, Provisional Minister for Foreign Affairs, General Guilleminot, Chief of the Staff of the

French Army, and the Count de Bondy, Prefect of the Department of the Seine, repaired to St. Cloud, where they met Colonel Hervey on the part of the English, and the Baron de Muffling on the part of the Prussians. The preliminary conferences were held in that very council-room, where Napoleon so often presided as the arbiter of the destinies of Europe, and as both parties were sincere, a Convention was speedily arranged and signed by the respective commissioners, of which the following is the substance:—

That there should be an immediate suspension of arms between the French and Allied armies—That the former should put itself in march to take up a position behind the Loire on the following day, carrying with it all the field artillery, military chest, &c. and Paris be evacuated in three day—The sick and wounded were placed under the special protection of the English and Prussian armies, with liberty to rejoin their corps after their recovery—On the 4th of July, St. Denis, St. Owen, Clichy, and Neuilly, were to be given up; Montmartre on the 5th, and all the barriers on the 6th—The national guards and gens-d'armes were to continue to do the duty of the city of Paris, and the Allied Generals engaged to respect all property whether public or private; and it was agreed that all individuals who should be in the capital, should continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed or called to account either as to

the situations which they may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions—the Allied troops were to protect the arrival of provisions to the capital—and it was further agreed, that if any difficulties should arise in the execution of any one of the articles of the present Convention, the interpretation of it should be made in favour of the French army and of the city of Paris.

This Convention was censured by the violent of both parties. The Allies were accused of having granted too favourable terms to the French army; but by the more moderate it was justly considered as a proof of the policy and humanity of the Allied Generals. In attempting to force an army of one hundred thousand men, rendered furious by despair, to unconditional submission, they might have hazarded all the advantages they had acquired; or by introducing Louis over the smoking ruins of the capital, have for ever rendered the name of the Bourbons an object of abhorrence. Carnot, on the other hand, justified the measure against those who contended for a prolonged defence, by the fact, that Napoleon had left the southern bank of the Seine totally defenceless, and from the strength of the enemy, and the river being at that time fordable in almost every part, they might, by assault, have rendered themselves in an instant masters of the capital. But this reasoning did not satisfy the troops and federates, who upon hearing that the capitulation was signed,

threatened to commit the most frightful outrages. As in the first days of the Revolution, numerous groups were addressed by mob-orators—cries of rage and fury were heard in the streets—some of the soldiers endeavoured to break off the treaty by rushing precipitately on the posts of the Allies, while others discharged the cannon on the heights of Montmartre: but the Allies being prepared for an explosion of this kind, repulsed the attack with as little bloodshed as possible. The federates moved through the streets in frantic procession, carrying the bust of Bonaparte; they even fired on some detachments of the national guards, and threatened with instant death all who refused to join in their furious cries of *Vive l'Empereur*. Many of them assembled on the bridges and in the squares, firing on every one whom they suspected. Early on the following day, it was reported, that the Prussians had sacked and burned Mal-maison, one of Buoparte's favourite palaces. Infuriated by this rumour, the soldiers determined to retaliate by destroying the Thuilleries; and the surrounding squares were quickly filled with troops and federates, breathing vengeance against the Bourbons and their Allies. But thirty thousand of the national guards, who were under arms, repelled every attempt to approach the palace, and ultimately dispersed the assailants.

A timely distribution of pay had, perhaps, the most powerful effect in calming the fury of the

soldiery. They were at length collected by their officers, and made sensible of the necessity of the armistice; after which they soon began to evacuate the city. The Imperial Guards marched through Paris without uttering a word; but the settled and ferocious gloom of their countenances manifested the anguish that they felt, and their eagerness to retrieve their disgrace by again rushing on the invaders. Some of the other regiments still shouted *Vive l'Empereur*, and wantonly fired on the allied posts as they passed them: but the latter magnanimously abstained from returning the fire, and the hostile armies were soon widely separated.

These commotions appeared not to disturb the representatives of the nation, who continued to polish the Constitution which they intended to present to the elected Prince, though they still affected an air of indecision as to the person of the future sovereign. They, however, removed the statue of Bonaparte from their hall, as a Prince whom the Provisional Government had declared, "abandoned by fortune and by the nation," and substituted in its place a three-coloured banner as the symbol of national power, emanating from the people. They then published a declaration, in which they asserted, that no monarch could offer any real security to the nation who did not accept the Constitution framed by the national representation, adopt the national colours, and

guarantee the liberty of the citizens—the equality of civil and political rights—the liberty of the press—the liberty of worship—the free consent with respect to the levying of men and taxes—the responsibility of Ministers—the irrevocability of the sale of national property—the inviolability of property—the abolition of tithes, of the old and new hereditary nobility, and of feudality—the entire oblivion of all opinions and political votes expressed up to the present moment—the rewards due to the officers and soldiers—the succour due to their widows and children—the institution of juries—the non-removal of judges—and the payment of the public debt. Any government that refused this guarantee, they said, would only have an ephemeral existence, and would never secure the tranquillity of France nor of Europe.

The greater part of these privileges, we have seen, were already confirmed by the Royal Charter; but the Representatives seemed anxious to appear as the asserters of them, as well as the correctors of those erroneous measures which the King had repeatedly declared his intention of rectifying; and with these, they blended the demand of a general amnesty, and the adoption of the national colours instead of the white flag and cockade. This latter point was pressed on Louis by Fouché in an interview which he had with him at St. Denis, when the statesman observed, “It was here that your Majesty’s great ancestor, Henry IV. swallow-

ed a mass for the good of his people, and will not your Majesty consent to sacrifice a ribband." The King answered, that for his own part, he was indifferent on the subject, but that his family (who considered, that to remove the royal colours would have been an acknowledgment of the legality of the government of Bonaparte, and the legislature he had convoked,) would rather he should return to Hartwell than consent to the measure.

On the 7th of July, Paris was entirely evacuated by the French army, and the several barriers were delivered up to the Allies by the national guards, the English and Prussian pickets receiving the pass-word from their late enemies, and saluting them with all due military form as if they were merely relieving guard. The British and Prussian banners now waved over the humbled capital of France,* and in the course of the day about fifty

* The march to Paris, which, in the early part of the war, had been so much ridiculed in France, and by many in England, was now brilliantly realized. This glorious termination of the noble efforts of the British army for the deliverance of Europe, is so elegantly touched upon in a poetical effusion of Sir Aubrey de Vere Hunt, that we must take the liberty of quoting the following lines :—

Lo! where yon shatter'd banners droop,
Before whose hallow'd fragments bending,
The Gallic eagles learn'd to stoop,
From Fame's high pinnacle descending.
Through many a storm, o'er many a wave,
Those gallant flags have sped to brave
The clouds of battle—skilled to fly
In every clime triumphantly.

thousand of the allied troops marched into the city defiling along the Boulevards and the Champs Elysées. The march of the victors was strictly regular, but severely solemn. They moved on with all the stern apparatus of loaded arms, lighted matches, and all the other preparations for instant action, should it be rendered necessary. No expression of ferocity or exultation was visible in the countenances of the allied troops, though they were frequently and grossly insulted by the federates and the populace, who, issuing from the lanes and alleys, vented their rage with the only arms they now possessed, scowling looks and vehement language. Each soldier wore a sprig of laurel in his cap, and a white scarf round his arm. The latter was considered by some as a pledge of friendship; but by others, as a symbol of adherence to the Bourbons. The march of the troops was consequently followed by thousands, shouting at intervals, "Down with the Bourbons! The Representative Government for ever! The Emperor for ever!" The troops bore these insults with match-

Oh! blessed be the hand that bore
Their glorious shreds from shore to shore :
From Egypt's sands and scorching gales,
To Lusitania's shadowy vales :
O'er high Castile's romantic mountains,
Leon's plains, and Ebro's fountains,
And Pyrenean peaks of snow,
And Gascon fields that bloom below ;
And taught them last to flout the breeze
Amid Parisian palaces !

less forbearance, and the interference of the national guards, at length, averted the danger with which the city was menaced by the fury of an intoxicated mob.

Paris was now occupied as a captured town. The British took possession of the heights of Montmartre—military posts were stationed at the bridges and at the squares, and loaded cannon were placed on the Pont Neuf, and Pont Royale, attended by soldiers with lighted matches. Many of the Prussians were quartered on the inhabitants—others encamped in the Champs Elysées. The whole of the British regiments were encamped under the walls or on the Boulevards, and such perfect order and discipline was maintained among them, that the inhabitants of Paris traversed their camp in perfect security, and soon began to regard them more as friends than conquerors. It was otherwise with the Prussians, who seemed determined to inflict on the French a dreadful retaliation for the sufferings of their country. Wherever they were quartered, they generally seized the best apartments, destroyed or injured the furniture, and voraciously consumed the provisions of every kind.* Prince Blucher rather encouraged than

* The following curious anecdote relative to this subject, was recorded in the journals of the day. A Prussian officer requested to be quartered on a noble lady in the Fauxbourg St. Germain. On entering her hotel, he demanded that the Countess should in-

discountenanced these proceedings—he affirmed, that it was the only way to cure the French of that military mania which had been so long the dread and scourge of the world; and to many who complained, his reply was, “Let the French remember Prussia, and learn wisdom.” The Duke of Wellington, at length, represented to the King of Prussia, how much the cause in which they were engaged was likely to be injured by the enormities of his troops. The political wisdom as well as the humanity of the Duke, was conspicuous upon this occasion; for it has been justly observed, that, “the

stantly give up to him her first floor. He demanded the second floor for his aid-de-camp, and on the lady's complaining of the inhumanity of the requisition, he sent for a file of men to the guard-house. He now threw himself, with his dirty boots, on a superb sofa, and ordered the cook to provide an excellent dinner and the best wines, for a number of officers whom he had asked to dine with him. When the dinner was served, he complained that it was execrable, dashed the dishes on the floor, and spilled the wine on the rich carpet. Having thus indulged himself for several hours in the most frantic enormities, he ordered the Countess into his presence, and when she appeared, asked her, if she had not thought his conduct disgraceful and barbarous. With great timidity, she replied in the affirmative. The officer resumed, “I am not the savage whom you imagine. Your son, Madam, was quartered at the house of my infirm mother. During three months he inflicted on her similar sufferings to those which you have endured for the last few hours. I swore to avenge her, and I have kept my oath!—but it was with inexpressible reluctance that I schooled myself to act the part I have done. You will resume your apartments, Madam, and I will seek a lodging elsewhere.”

sack of Magdeburg gave a death-blow to the discipline of the veteran army of Marshal Tilly, while the destruction of the French army in the Russian campaign might be traced to the dreadful excesses which they had committed at Moscow."

The Chambers continued their sittings, even after the Allied forces had entered the capital; yet none ventured to name the individual to whom they were desirous to entrust the government, though Louis XVIII., the Duke of Orleans, and young Napoleon had their several partisans. The royalist party, however, appeared to be gaining strength, and a close and constant communication was kept up with the King, who had now arrived at St. Denis. Fouché advised his Majesty to temporize with the Chambers; but the Duke of Wellington gave it as his opinion, that the Allies having declared the government of Napoleon an usurpation, all authority emanating from it should be considered null and of no effect: and that it merely remained for the Chambers to give in their resignation, and declare that they had only taken on themselves their temporary authority to insure the public tranquillity, and the integrity of the kingdom of Louis XVIII. At a secret conference with Fouché, the Allied Ministers are said to have declared, that it was the anxious wish of their sovereigns to respect the national choice; but that the tranquillity of Europe was a still more important object: to secure this they should deem it

their duty, if Louis were not acknowledged, to demand from France those cessions of territory as guarantees, to which the country would not submit without a protracted and bloody war; but that if the King were restored to his throne, they should be contented with guarantees which he was already disposed to give, and which would not endanger the peace of France. If the nation persisted in refusing to receive the Bourbons, and if the attempt to re-establish them should appear likely to produce a considerable effusion of blood, they were willing to abandon the cause of the legitimate King; but being now in possession of the capital, and able to subdue without bloodshed every attempt at resistance there, and believing that the nation would peaceably follow the example of the metropolis; believing, likewise, that Louis had perceived his former errors, and was now disposed to devote himself to the real happiness of France; and regarding the peace of Europe as inseparably connected with his restoration, the Allies were resolved to use their best efforts to replace him on the throne.

Fouché is said to have acknowledged, that the only hope of lasting peace and the interest of France, depended on the restoration of the Bourbons; but he required that Louis should give his solemn assent to the Constitution which the Representatives were then engaged in framing—it was replied, that if Louis were restored, he

must be restored unconditionally, fettered only by his own declarations; and it was proposed, that Fouché should continue to fill, under his government, the same situation which he held under the usurpation of Bonaparte, to which the Minister consented, on condition, that the King would religiously respect the Charter, and steadily oppose the re-actionary spirit of his family and courtiers.

On the following day, the Provisional Government sent a message to the Chambers, that all the sovereigns had engaged to replace Louis XVIII. on the throne—that foreign troops had already occupied the Thuilleries, where the Government was sitting; and their deliberations being no longer free, they had thought it their duty to separate; first charging Marshal Massena and the Prefect of the Seine with the maintenance of the public tranquillity. The Peers quickly followed the example of the Provisional Government: but the Representatives made a firmer shew of resistance, and declared, on the motion of Manuel, “We are here by the will of the people, and nothing but bayonets shall remove us.” They accordingly continued their debates on the New Constitution till the usual hour of adjournment. In the evening, an order from the King was received by the national guard, charging them to place posts at the Luxembourg at day-light on the following morning, to prevent the illegal assemblies which had been

formed there in his absence. The order was strictly obeyed; and when the Representatives demanded admittance to their hall, they were mildly but firmly refused by the pickets who filled the different avenues; while the chagrin and disappointment of each member on his refusal, afforded matter of amusement and ridicule to the fickle mob of Paris, who only the day before caused the air to ring with shouts of "The Representatives for ever!"

All impediments to the restoration of the Bourbons having now been removed, the white standard quickly replaced the tri-coloured flag on all the towers of the metropolis; and every barrier was thrown open. When it was announced that the King would make his public entry in the afternoon, Paris rapidly poured forth its immense population; and while the road to St. Denis was literally choked up with vehicles of every description, all the streets from the gate of St. Denis to the Thuilleries, were thronged almost to suffocation by pedestrians. At two o'clock the royal procession approached the barrier. Fourteen thousand national guards led the way—they were succeeded by the household troops, who had accompanied the monarch to Ghent—next came the King, accompanied by the Count d'Artois and the Duke de Berry; and he was followed by a regiment of officers, (including Marshals Victor, Marimont, Macdonald, Oudinot,

Gouvion St. Cyr, Moncey, and Lefebvre,) who had remained firm to the royal cause amidst the disaffection of the army. Each officer wore his proper uniform and decorations; but each, likewise, had a musket on his shoulder, and his knapsack on his back like a private soldier. This splendid procession was closed by a long train of coaches, chariots, cabriolets, &c. filled with citizens of Paris, the last of which did not enter the capital until nearly six o'clock.

The same magistracy, who, one hundred days before, had greeted the return of Napoleon, now welcomed the King in the language of the most enthusiastic loyalty. The procession then entered the city amidst the most deafening acclamations, while banners, or handkerchiefs, waved from every window: at five o'clock it reached the Thuilleries, and during the remainder of the evening groups of dancers filled every walk and every lawn, tripping it to the tune of some itinerant musician, or to the music of their own voices. The whole city was illuminated, and all Paris seemed for the moment to forget the errors of the Bourbons, and the glories of Napoleon.

An earnest desire for peace was, at this time, the prevailing feeling in France; and however objectionable to many the mode of the King's return might have appeared, yet his character was universally respected. Age and infirmities, indeed, forbade the exercise of those energies which the

crisis required: but he had resolved to devote himself to the happiness of his subjects, and he gave an early proof of his willingness to sacrifice his own prepossessions to that important object, by dismissing his favourite Minister, the Count de Blacas. On the day after his restoration he named his new Ministry, "wishing," said the decree, "to give it a character of unity and solidity which should inspire all his subjects with a just confidence."—The Prince de Talleyrand was appointed President of the Council, and Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Marshal St. Cyr, Secretary at War; Baron Louis, Minister of Finance; the Duke of Otranto, (Fouché,) Minister of Police; the Duke of Richelieu, Minister for the Department of the King's Household; the Baron Pasquier, Minister of Justice; and the Count de Jaucour, Minister of Marine. The appointment of Fouché is said to have been strongly urged by England, as a token of the King's disposition to conciliate the erring part of his subjects, who would be thus assured that measures of re-action would not be hastily resorted to, when the formidable powers of the police were lodged in the hands of a companion of their crime.

It was soon intimated by Louis to the different Prefects, that a veil should be cast over common errors and faults; but he stood pledged by his declaration from Cambray, to punish as well as pardon: however, to remove every pretext for

disquietude or irritation, he issued an ordinance, designating the accused, and limiting their number. According to this document, thirty-eight Peers of France were declared to have virtually resigned their dignity, by accepting functions under Bonaparte, and sitting in the Chamber of Peers convened by him.* Ministers, generals, and officers,† who had betrayed the King before the 23d of March, or who had attacked France and the government with arms in their hands, were ordered to be arrested and carried before the competent councils of war in their respective divisions. Thirty-eight individuals‡ were ordered to quit

* In this list were included Marshals Suchet, Augereau, and Mortier; Generals Rapp, Lebrun, and Savary; with the well known political characters Cornudet, Lacedepede, Pontecoulant, Segur, Valence, and others, who were distinguished as Jacobins or Imperialists.

† The persons denounced in this list were, Marshal Ney; Generals Drouet, D'Erlon, Lefebvre, Desnouettes, Ameilh, Brayer, Gilly, Mouton-Duvernet, Grouchy, Clausel, Laborde, Debelle, Bertrand, Cambrone, Rovigo, the two Lallemands, Labedoyere, and La Vallette, the Post-master General.

‡ The third list contained the names of Marshal Soult, Generals Alix, Exclémans, Fressinet, Vandamme, Lamarque, Lobau, Harell, Peré, Arrighi, Garnier de Saintes, Mollinet, and Hullin; with M. M. Bassano, Marbot, Felix Lepelletier, Boulay de la Meurthe, Mehée, Thibaudeau, Carnot, Barrere, Arnault, Pommereuil, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, Dejean, (the son) Garreau, Real, Bouvier Dumolard, Merlin of Douay, Durbach, Dirat, Defermont, Bory St. Vincent, Felix Desportes, Clery, Courtin, Forbin Janson, (the eldest son) and Lorgue Dideville.

Paris in three days, and retire to such places as should be pointed out by the Minister of Police, and there remain under his superintendence until the Chambers should decide upon such among them as should be sent out of the kingdom, or sent to trial. But the execution of these ordinances being entrusted to Fouché and the police under his management, it was not likely that they would be severely executed; and the menaces of trials and the *surveillance* of the police were generally presumed to be thrown out, to hasten the departure of the obnoxious individuals. In many instances, the plan succeeded, and Napoleon's own family, with some individuals attached to his person, began to disappear from the scene.

But before we notice the subsequent measures adopted by Louis for the re-establishment of his throne, we must pursue the falling fortunes of Napoleon to that period, when he was compelled to abandon for ever, a country which his insatiate ambition had brought to the verge of ruin. He arrived at Rochfort on the 3d of July, the very day upon which Paris had capitulated to the Allies. Two frigates, *La Saale*, and *La Medusa*, had been provided at that port by the Provisional Government, to convey the ex-emperor to America; and had he exercised that promptitude of action by which he had once been so distinguished, he might with little difficulty have effected his escape. But he lingered six days at the hotel of

Baron Bonnefoux, the maritime Prefect, indulging the vain hope, that he might be recalled by the affections of his army or the dangers of the government. During this period numerous waggons arrived from his palaces laden with valuable articles, and much of his time was passed in making arrangements for his voyage, and for his comfortable establishment at the place of his future residence. The most urgent intreaties were used by the Prefect of police and General Beker to hasten his embarkation, and boats were ready every tide to convey him to the ships; but he continued in a pitiable state of irresolution, till the arrival of his brother Joseph with the fatal intelligence of the capitulation of Paris, the dissolution of the Provisional Government, and the restoration of the King. Roused from his illusions, he at length resolved to embark; but it was now too late, for Captain Maitland, being informed of the important personage which Rochfort contained, had entered Basque Roads with the *Bellerophon* of 74 guns, and that officer being fully acquainted with the station, together with the moon being clear and at the full, it was impossible that the frigates could elude his vigilance.

The situation of Napoleon now became critical in the extreme. The white flag was already hoisted at Rochfort, and an order for his arrest might be expected every hour. Various schemes for his preservation were suggested, either by himself or

his friends, and abandoned as soon as they were proposed : at length, he fixed on fortifying the little island of Aix, and defending himself to the last extremity. He proceeded to the island, and having landed the marines and some of the sailors from the frigates, he reviewed his little army, inspected the fortifications, and even commenced some repairs ; but before the close of the following day, he saw the absurdity of the project, which a few seventy-four gun ships would speedily overthrow. He then attempted to escape with his attendants to a Danish brig which lay in the roads ; and afterwards in a small French vessel with which he hoped to elude the vigilance of the cruizers under favour of the night. He was to assume a disguise under which he conceived it would be impossible to recognize him, and eight officers dressed as common sailors were to form his crew. All things were prepared for the hazardous enterprize, when the hearts of Bertrand and his wife failed them—they burst into tears, and persuaded him to abandon it. As a last effort, Napoleon adopted the ridiculous expedient of sending a flag of truce to Captain Maitland to request permission to pass, and giving his word of honour that he would proceed to America. To this, the British commander gave an unqualified denial, and declared he would attack the French ships the moment they left the harbour.

The situation of the Ex-Emperor appeared now

completely desperate. Hemmed in by sea and land, all hope of escape was taken away, and the order of his arrest might be expected every hour : no course therefore remained to him, but to make a virtue of necessity, and surrender to the British squadron, rather than become the prisoner of his detested rival. Las Casas and Lallemand, two of his confidential officers, were despatched to Captain Maitland with a proposition, that he should receive Napoleon Bonaparte on board the *Bellerophon* for the purpose of being conveyed to England, on condition, that his person and property should be safe, and that on his arrival in that country, he should be permitted to reside wherever he pleased. Captain Maitland replied with great propriety, that he had no authority whatever for granting terms of any sort, and that all he could do was to convey Bonaparte and his suite to England, to be received in such manner as the Prince Regent should deem expedient.

The reply was far from being consolatory to Napoleon—but as he was now deprived of every alternative, he embarked with his suite* and bag-

* Napoleon's suite consisted of Count Bertrand, formerly Grand Marshal of the palace; the Countess Bertrand, and three children; Savary, (Duke of Rovigo;) General Lallemand; Baron Gourgaud, formerly aid-de-camp to Napoleon; the Count and Countess Montholon Semonville, and a child; Count Las Casas, counsellor of state, and his son, with several other officers, and forty domestics.

gage on board the brig l'Epervier, and at dawn of day on the 15th, set sail under a flag of truce for the Bellerophon. On reaching the ship he ascended the quarter deck, and advancing to Captain Maitland, said with much dignity of manner, "I am come to claim the protection of your Prince and of your laws." Captain Maitland, having no orders to the contrary, received him with all the respect due to his former rank, and told him, that while in his ship he should enjoy every accommodation within his power to grant. A fast sailing frigate was instantly despatched to inform the British Government of this important event, and General Gourgaud embarked in the same vessel with a letter to the Prince Regent, of which the following is a copy :—

" ROYAL HIGHNESS,

" Exposed to the factions which divide my
" country, and to the enmity of the great powers
" of Europe, I have terminated my political ca-
" reer, and I come, like Themistocles, to throw
" myself upon the hospitality of the British na-
" tion. I place myself under the safeguard of
" their laws, and claim the protection of your
" Royal Highness, the most powerful, and the most
" generous of my enemies.

" NAPOLEON."

Rochefort, 13th of July, 1815.

No reply was returned to this letter ; but when the *Bellerophon* arrived in Torbay on the 24th of July, she was ordered round to Plymouth, with instructions, that no visitors should be allowed to go on board, and that neither Napoleon or any of his suite should be permitted to land : and to carry these orders into effect, armed boats were directed to row round the vessel by day and night. Napoleon, however, indulged a vain hope, that he would be permitted to reside in England, under some strict but not disgraceful *surveillance* ; he appeared extremely cheerful and affable, spent much of his time in reading, and writing, and frequently appeared on deck to gratify the curiosity of the innumerable spectators, who, from sunrise to sunset, crowded round the ship to get a glimpse of this extraordinary character.* He conversed familiarly with the officers on various political subjects. He declared that he would sooner have perished than have delivered himself to Russia,

* The person of Napoleon at this period has been thus described by one of the officers of the *Bellerophon*. " He is about five feet seven inches high, strongly made and well proportioned. His countenance is sallow, his eyes grey and piercing, so that you fancy his glance would reach your inmost thoughts. His hair is dark brown, his features handsome, and his demeanour altogether commanding. He is rather fat, and his belly protuberant ; but he appears active notwithstanding. He dresses in green uniform, with red facings, and edged with red, two plain gold epaulets, the lapels of the coat cut round and turned back, white waistcoat and breeches, military boots and spurs, and the grand cross of the legion of honour on his left breast."

Austria, or Prussia, who might have violated all justice and good faith with impunity; but by surrendering to the British nation, he threw himself on the justice of every individual. He stated it to be his resolution never again to meddle with politics, and that not another drop of blood should be shed on his account. Of Waterloo, he said that no battle was ever more severely contested. His troops had joined him in the sentiment that the fate of the campaign depended on the issue of that day, and they did their duty—but to that moment he reflected with astonishment on the firmness with which the British received and repulsed their charges. He attributed his total rout to the treachery of some of his generals, and his having to contend with the bravest troops in the world. When asked his opinion of the military talents of Lord Wellington, he generally evaded the question; but in his communicative moments he is said to have frankly acknowledged, that he had proved himself to be the first general of the age. When he spoke of his former achievements, he said he should have died when he entered Moscow—he had then attained the pinnacle of his glory. “And yet,” said he, “had I followed the dictates of my own mind, I might now have been great and happy. I would have made peace at Dresden, or at Chatillon, but Maret’s well meaning but fatal zeal, persuaded me against it.”

The future destination and treatment of Napoleon now became a subject of discussion in all the political circles in England. One class of reasoners, viewing his deserts, rather than the relation in which he stood to the English government, contended that he should be delivered up to the King of France, and capitally executed for the miseries he had inflicted upon Europe. But these reasoners seem to have forgotten, that by the Treaty of Fontainebleau, Napoleon was acknowledged as Emperor of Elba, and as an independent prince he had a right to conquer France, if he could, subject indeed to the moral guilt attendant upon all wars undertaken to gratify an unjust ambition. The Treaty of Fontainebleau, by recognizing him as an independent sovereign, had granted him an amnesty for the murders and tyranny which had been alleged against him; the King of France had, therefore, by the law of nations, no legal right to put him to death. Still less could Great Britain have possessed the right of delivering him up to undergo capital punishment, without incurring the guilt of the basest perfidy. His surrender to Captain Maitland implied at least a condition of personal security, and no true friend to England could wish to see her fair fame sullied by the blood even of this great offender against the lives and liberties of mankind.

Another class of politicians, with still less show of reason, imagined that his arrival in Great Bri-

tain had conferred upon him all the privileges of a British subject, and entitled him to fix his residence in England, and to claim the protection of her laws. But viewing Napoleon as a conquered enemy, who had been compelled to surrender as a prisoner of war, Great Britain had every right to guard against his escape ; or considering his previous conduct in the most favourable light, the powers of Europe had the same authority to restrain him from doing further injury, that they would have to coerce a maniac whose mischievous propensities had become matter of public notoriety. In England he might have maintained a correspondence with the factions which still divided France. He offered indeed his word of honour, that his political life was closed ; but that honour had been too often violated, not only in his own person, but in the encouragement which he had given to those officers who had broke that parole which has ever been held sacred by military men. In England also the *surveillance* necessary for his safe keeping must have been of that strict description as to be inconsistent with his comfort, and a source of continual irritation, while it must have proved ineffectual to quiet apprehensions for the repose of Europe. The British government, therefore, in conjunction with their allies, fixed on the island of St. Helena, for his future residence, as a place which combined in a singular degree the absolute security of his person,

with facilities of exercise and domestic freedom. Situated in the middle of the Southern Atlantic, at a distance of twelve hundred miles from the coast of Africa, and eighteen hundred from South America, with an inaccessible coast, formed by an almost uninterrupted chain of rocks, rising in nearly a perpendicular direction from six to twelve hundred feet, it is absolutely impregnable either to surprise or regular attack; and so profuse has nature been in strengthening this station, that out of twenty-eight miles of coast, the fortified lines of defence collectively do not exceed eight hundred and fifty yards. The whole circumference affords but one harbour, which is rendered difficult of access both by art and nature; and the ocean is commanded by its rocky steeps to the extent of sixty miles in every direction.

The Northumberland man-of-war, commanded by Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, was selected to convey Napoleon to his place of exile; and a letter was addressed by Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State, to the Lords of the Admiralty, containing all the instructions necessary for his safe detention and his personal comforts.* Napo-

* The Admiral was directed to allow all the baggage, (including his table service,) wine, and provisions of General Bonaparte to be taken on board the Northumberland. His money, bills of exchange, diamonds, and other valuable effects to be delivered up—not to be confiscated, but to be administered by the British Government in such a way as to prevent Napoleon from using them

leon first learned through the newspapers his ultimate destination, his rage and mortification seemed to be extreme; and in these feelings his suite strongly participated. On the 2d of August Sir Henry Bunbury, the commissioner appointed for the purpose, officially announced to Napoleon the determination of the British government, which he appeared to receive without surprise: but two days after he gave vent to his indignant feelings in a spirited protest, in which he arraigned the government of a breach of faith and hospitality; and denied that he was a prisoner of war, though it was well known that he had not surrendered to Captain Maitland till all other

as means of escape—the interest or principal, as the property might be more or less considerable to be applied to his support, and in case of his death, he had liberty to dispose of it by will. On his arrival at St. Helena, the General was to be constantly attended by an officer appointed by the Admiral or Governor; and when allowed to go beyond the bounds where the sentinels were placed, an orderly man was to attend the officer. While ships were at this island, or in sight, the General was to be confined to the limits guarded by the sentinels, and during such period was to hold no communication with the inhabitants. Any attempt on his part to fly was to subject him to close confinement; and any plot on the part of his attendants to aid his flight, was to subject them to similar punishment. All letters addressed to General Bonaparte or his suite were to be read by the Admiral or Governor before their delivery, and all letters written by the General or his suite were to be subjected to the same rule. The whole coast of the island and all the ships and boats that might visit it were placed under the strict *surveillance* of the Admiral.

means of escape from Rochefort were tried in vain,*

On the 4th the *Bellerophon* sailed from Torbay

* This protest is curious, not only as embodying his feelings on this subject, but as being the last public document which issued from his pen previous to his final departure from Europe :—" I protest solemnly in the face of heaven and of man, against the violation of my most sacred rights, by the forcible disposal of my person and of my liberty. I came freely on board the *Bellerophon*, I was immediately entitled to the hospitality, (*Je fus sur le foyer*) of the British people. If the government by giving orders to the captain of the *Bellerophon* to receive me and my suite, intended merely to lay a snare for me, it has forfeited its honour and sullied its flag. If this act be consummated it will be in vain that the English will talk to Europe of their integrity, of their laws, of their liberty. The British faith will be lost in the hospitality of the *Bellerophon*. I appeal therefore to history; it will say, that an enemy who had made war for twenty years on the people of England, came freely in his misfortune to seek an asylum under its laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and of his confidence? But how did they answer it in England? They pretended to hold out an hospitable hand to their enemy, and when he surrendered himself to them in good faith, they sacrificed him.

" NAPOLEON."

On board the Bellerophon at Sea, August 5th, 1815.

The ensuing Session of Parliament approved of the measures adopted by the British Ministry, and an Act was passed " for the more effectually detaining in custody Napoleon Bonaparte," declaring that General Bonaparte should be considered as a prisoner of war; and any British subject aiding or assisting in his escape should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy. All intercourse was at the same time interdicted with the island of St. Helena, except by the ships of the East India Company, or by licence of his Majesty.

to meet the Northumberland off Berry-head. On the 6th Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn proceeded on board the former ship. Agreeably to instructions the ceremony with which Bonaparte had been hitherto treated was now to be discontinued, and when Lord Keith approached him, he simply pulled off his hat, and said, "How do you do, General Bonaparte?" Napoleon, surprized at this salutation, hesitated for an instant; then gave a laconic reply, and commenced a violent philippic against the British government for their treatment of him. Of this, Lord Keith and Admiral Cockburn took no notice; but an officer present remarked, that if he had not been sent to St. Helena he would have been delivered up to the Russians. "God keep me from the Russians," he exclaimed, with an expressive look at Bertrand. He was then asked by Sir George Cockburn, at what hour he should receive him on board the Northumberland. Napoleon at first peremptorily refused to quit the ship; but Lord Keith observing that he acted under the orders of his government, and hoped he should not be under the necessity of resorting to coercive measures—"No, no," replied Napoleon, "you command! I must obey! you may take me, but let it be remembered, that I do not go with my own free will." He then intimated that he would be ready to attend him at ten o'clock on the following morning, and concluded by expressing his indignation at the ad-

dress of 'General,' being used towards him: "You have sent ambassadors to me," said he, "as a sovereign potentate—you have acknowledged me as First Consul. Is this the hour chosen to insult me?"

The persons selected to accompany Napoleon in his exile were Count Bertrand, his wife and children; the Count and Countess of Montholon; Count Las Casas, and General Gourgaud, with nine men and three women servants. M. Mengault, his surgeon, refused to accompany him, and his place was supplied by the since celebrated Mr. Barry O'Meara, the surgeon of the *Bellerophon*. Savary and Lallemand were left on board the *Bellerophon*, to be sent to Malta; and they, with the remainder of his suite, who were put on board the *Eurotas* frigate, appeared deeply affected at the separation. At noon, on the 7th, Napoleon and his attendants went on board the *Northumberland*, and immediately advancing to Sir George Cockburn, he said, "Admiral, I once more protest against the injustice of your country; but I know my situation, and must submit." He then bowed to Lord Lowther and the Honourable Mr. Littleton who were on board the ship, and conversed with them on political subjects for nearly two hours.

After spending several days in laying in provisions and stores, the *Northumberland* sailed for her destination on the 16th of August, and arrived

there on the 18th of October. Napoleon was full of animation during the greater part of the voyage; but as he approached the rugged and secluded spot on which he was doomed to pass the remainder of his life, his spirits evidently flagged, and he is said to have burst into tears. By a singular coincidence his first residence in the island was a villa which had been occupied for a fortnight by the Duke of Wellington, while the vessel in which he went out to India was lying at St. Helena; and now, at the very time when Napoleon was tenant of this sequestered mansion, the Duke was in possession of his favourite palace of the Elysée Bourbon at Paris.*

* The treatment which the Imperial exile experienced under the strict superintendence of Sir Hudson Lowe, during the remaining years of his life, has excited considerable discussion, both in and out of Parliament. Much has been said and written on the subject; but it does not properly come within our limits to enter into the investigation of the many conflicting statements which have been presented to the public, relative to this interesting topic—they will, no doubt, at a future day, become the subject of impartial history. As, however, it has been alleged that the climate of St. Helena is insalubrious, and that it proved unfavourable to the health of the distinguished captive, we deem it right to present our readers with the following particulars respecting this now celebrated island, which are chiefly extracted from the Tracts of Major General Beatson, who filled the office of Governor of St. Helena from 1808 to 1814:

St. Helena, so far from being desolate and barren, as is generally imagined, is in many parts pre-eminently fertile, and capable of the highest improvement. Some thousand acres of the land are not inferior in the production of grain, potatoes, and all sorts of esca-

The deportation of Napoleon, under circumstances which rendered his escape almost impossible; the complete dispersion of the Imperial family, who had sought an asylum, some in Italy, and others in America; and finally, the fate of Joachim Murat, the ex-king of Naples, which was still more tragical than that of his brother-in-law and patron, relieved the government of Louis from much of that disquietude which would, under other circumstances, have attended his efforts for the re-establishment of his throne; and must no

lents, to the very best land in Europe; indeed the annual produce is much greater, on account of the certainty of two seasons of rain and two harvests in the year. The plain of Long-Wood and Dead-Wood, comprises fifteen hundred acres of fine land, elevated two thousand feet above the sea, with a beautiful sward, covering a deep and fertile soil, and is become the first place of pasture in the island; but with all these advantages, a large proportion of St. Helena exhibits the appearance of a barren and reluctant waste. The climate is perhaps the most mild and salubrious in the world, and is remarkably congenial to human feelings. Neither too hot nor too cold, it presents through the year that medium temperature which is always agreeable. From thunder and lightning this island may be said to be wholly exempt. In the course of sixty years only two flashes of lightning are recollected, and even these are said not to have been accompanied by thunder. Neither is the settlement subject to those storms and hurricanes which so often afflict and desolate other tropical islands. The population exclusive of the civil and military establishments, the free blacks, and slaves of the East India Company, amounted in 1812 to 582 whites and 1150 blacks. Provisions are always plenty, and not less than seventy-seven species of fish are enumerated as frequenting the coasts of the island.

doubt, have disposed the troops in various parts of France, now deprived of a rallying point, to a more peaceable submission than could otherwise have been expected.* The rapid advance of the other allied forces, no doubt forced the army of the Loire reluctantly to resume the white cockade, and Marshal Macdonald was entrusted with the re-organization of these mutinous and disorderly troops. Lecourbe, Suchet, Rapp, and other generals, who commanded in different departments, also sent in their adhesion to the restored govern-

As a military station, St. Helena is almost impregnable. Rupert's Bay, James-Town and Lemon Valley, the principal landing places, are well fortified by *fleurs d'eau* batteries, provided with furnaces for heating shot, and flanked by cannon on the cliffs far above the reach of ship guns. It would be therefore utterly impossible to force a descent at any of these points. The other ravines and vallies along the coast are also protected by batteries, and are so easily defended by rolling stones from the heights, that two or three men, with iron crows, might withstand almost any number of troops; as a stone of moderate size, set off from one of the ridges, collects such myriads in its train before it reaches the bottom of the hill, as would crush a whole battalion drawn up in the ravine.

* Singular as was the exaltation of Murat from the humble situation of a trooper in the Royal Regiment of Alsace to the throne of Naples, the circumstances which led to his final catastrophe were still more extraordinary. We have stated in a former chapter, that after his dethronement he took refuge in Toulon, where he remained neglected by Napoleon till Waterloo extinguished his last hopes. From this period he concealed himself in a cottage on the sea shore, and was frequently obliged to take refuge in the adjoining woods and vineyards, to evade the pursuit of the royalists.

ment, alleging as the cause, that the King had assured the army of an honourable existence. Decaen seemed disposed to defend Toulouse

At length he found means to hire a merchant vessel in which he sent three aides-de-camp with 200,000 francs and other valuables; but his faithless attendants set sail without him, and the search after him had now become so hot, that he was forced to remain for several days under ground covered with wood and leaves; and at another time he was indebted for his preservation to a large hen-coop which the owner of the cottage placed before him on the approach of the gens d'armes. At length his life became intolerable, and he put to sea in an open boat for Corsica. This island, uncertain as to its future government, was now torn by a hundred factions: but as the former renown of Murat procured him many friends, he remained there some time, and under pretext of waiting for passports from the Allies, contrived to collect a little army of about four hundred men, with whom he made a kind of triumphal entry into Ajaccio. His head seemed to be so completely turned by the acclamations of the populace, that he suddenly resolved on re-conquering his kingdom, and clasping the hand of one of his officers, he said, "It is done, live or die, it shall be among my people. We shall see Naples—let us begone!" In vain the officer reasoned on the folly of undertaking such an expedition with four hundred men and a treasury amounting to 11,000 francs, and some diamond ornaments worth 140,000: and though one of his aides-de-camp arrived on the same day from the Emperor of Austria, with the offer of an asylum in his dominions on the most honourable conditions, he exclaimed,—'No! I will not be the voluntary object of the triumph of the House of Austria—I reject an asylum offered on such conditions—I will never see the Queen but on the throne of Naples!'

Murat embarked his puny force in six small vessels on the 29th of September. Misfortunes attended this ill fated expedition from its commencement to its close. A storm dispersed the little squadron, and on the 8th of October, Murat found himself in the bay of

against the royalists ; but their increasing strength in that department compelled him to submission, but not until General Ramel had lost his life in

St. Lucido with only one vessel in company. He now appeared to think that the enterprize could not succeed, and ordered the captain to steer for Trieste, that he might put himself under the protection of Austria ; but the captain replied it was impossible, as the vessel could not keep the Adriatic at that season. With a frantic courage he then determined to land, saying, " I cannot have been forgotten in the kingdom of Naples. I have done good to its people. They will not refuse to assist me." He then dressed himself in a rich uniform, and ordering his officers to follow his example, sprang on shore at the head of twenty-eight officers and soldiers, among whom was General Franceschetti. Some sailors on the shore shouted, " Long live King Joachim ;" and encouraged by this first greeting, Murat marched rapidly at the head of his little band to the principal square of Pizzo, where he was joined by fifty artillery-men. Elated by this reinforcement, he commenced an address to the peasantry, but he was interrupted in his harangue by two young men who said, " Sire, quit Pizzo this moment ; you are in the midst of your enemies—there is the road to Monteleone." He took the hint, but was almost instantly pursued by some armed peasantry under Colonel Trentacapilli, who had formerly been a chieftain in the insurrection in Calabria against Murat, and whose three brothers had been hanged by orders of his general. When the party approached, Murat fearlessly threw himself in the midst of them ; but on learning the name of their leader, he considered himself undone : Franceschetti, however, presented a cocked pistol at the head of Trentacapilli, and threatened to fire if the King was not instantly set at liberty. The Calabrians withdrew, and Murat was conveyed by his party to the shore under a heavy fire. But here new misfortunes awaited him—the vessel which had landed the party had now abandoned them, and in a few minutes nearly the whole were killed or wounded by the infuriated peasantry.

an affray between the soldiers and the citizens, Clausel held out in Bourdeaux till the exertions of the Baron de Montalembert, and the

The crowd at length rushed on the unfortunate Murat, disarmed him, dragged him and the wounded to the tower, and flung them into the common prison. Here sat this unfortunate phantom of royalty, his officers exhausted and bleeding around him, and his soldiers writhing on the ground in agony with their wounds, while the multitude without called furiously through the prison-bars for the lives of Murat and his wretched companions, as sacrifices to the memory of their brothers and friends. "Never," says a narrator of this horrible scene, "did the pencil of Salvator or Spagnoletti, imagine so tragic a history-piece of torture of mind and body, furious suffering and regal despair."

Murat was stripped by Trentacapili of his purse, his diamonds, and a single copy of the proclamation which he had prepared for distribution among the Neopolitans, the contents of which were sufficient to insure his destruction. The populace would probably have taken summary vengeance on the wretched captives, had not General Murziantè arrived with some troops for their protection. They were now treated with considerable humanity; a better apartment was provided for Murat, and a table kept by the general. Some hopes seem to have been indulged that the Austrian or British ambassador at Naples would interfere in his behalf, but the fatal order was soon received, directing Murziantè to appoint a military commission to condemn the king to death, and to have him shot in half an hour after. When this intelligence was conveyed to him by the captain of the guard, he replied with firmness, "Captain, tell your president, that I refuse to appear before his tribunal. Men of my rank are accountable for their conduct to none but God. Let them pass sentence. I shall make no other answer." He continued deaf to the intreaties of his officers to alter his resolution; and when the secretary of the Commission entered the apartment to enquire his name, age, and family, he sternly replied, "I am Joachim Napoleon, king of the two Sicilies—Begone." He afterwards spent some time in recapitulating to

forcing the passage of the Gironde by a British squadron, under Captains Aylmer and Palmer, compelled his troops to submission, and himself to

his officers his services to Naples, and his past conduct as a general and a sovereign, which he concluded by saying, "Both in court and army, my only object was the national good. I entered Naples the possessor of twelve millions of francs, and after ten years of a government, which I did every thing in my power to make that of a father, I came out of it worth 250,000 francs in the world. I did nothing for myself. At this hour of my death I have no other wealth than that of my actions. They are all my glory and my consolation."

The door at length opened, and the secretary announced to him that the Commission had sentenced him to death within the next half hour. He heard the fatal announcement with haughty coolness, and when a confessor was mentioned, accepted him in these words in writing—"I declare that I have done good as far as it lay in my power, I have done evil only to the criminal. I desire to die only in the arms of the Catholic religion." After spending a few minutes with his confessor, he wrote a letter to his wife, in which he enclosed a lock of his hair, and gave it to Captain Starage, whom he begged to have it sent safe to his family, along with the seal of his watch, and a cornelian head of his queen, which was found grasped in his right hand after his death. He then said, "Let us delay no longer, I am ready to die." He was instantly led out of the room, and had but to pass the door, when he saw a platoon of twelve soldiers drawn up before him. He made a firm step forward, and said with a smile, "Soldiers, do not put me in pain. The place indeed will make you put the muzzles of your muskets to my breast." He then turned his heart to them, and stood with his eyes fixed on the seal which he held in his hand. The platoon fired, and Murat was no more! No other blood was shed upon this occasion; but the survivors of this ill-fated expedition were drafted into the French colonial regiments, or scattered about the world.

Could we forget the part which Murat acted in the early part of

flight. Brune, who commanded in Provence, was not so fortunate. He had manifested the greatest inveteracy against the royal cause, and even after the capitulation of Paris, had hoisted the black flag, and declared his intention of resisting the royalists till death. But the arrival of Lord Exmouth's fleet off the coast, and the debarkation of some British troops at Marseilles, compelled him to alter his intention. He made a formal submission to the royal authority, and retreated to Avignon, on the 2d of August; but being soon recognized by the people of that town, who were violent royalists, he was so assailed with oaths and menaces that he took refuge in an inn, and barricaded his apartment. The mob, however, burst into the house, tore up the floor of the chamber above him, and fired at Brune, who was wounded in the shoulder. In this extremity he is said to have terminated his existence with his own hands,

the French Revolution, and the massacre which he directed at Madrid, the circumstances of his death would excite our regret, as much as they merit our admiration of his heroism. As a king, he had conferred many benefits on his subjects, and was generous and hospitable in his intercourse with strangers. He had none of the qualities of a great commander, but dauntless courage, which frequently urged him to lead his men in person against the cannon to which they were exposed: he never forsook his army till they abandoned him; and he verified in his own fate what he had been heard to express, that "A king who could not keep his sovereignty had no alternative but a soldier's death; and though a prison might be offered him as an asylum, a grave would be at no great distance."

by a pistol, and his body was afterwards dragged through the streets, and thrown into the Rhone.

A dreadful spirit of re-action began to display itself at this time, in various parts of France, which called for the utmost vigilance and energy on the part of the government. Ultra-Royalists, Imperialists, and Constitutionals seemed animated with the most deadly hatred towards each other, while the majority of all parties were ready to unite against the Allies, whose devastations, with the exception of the British, was a subject of general complaint, and who still beleaguered Metz, Strasbourg, Valenciennes, Huninguen, and other fortresses on the North and East of France, though they had hoisted the white flag, and acknowledged the royal authority. In the West and South, bands of Ultra-Royalists, wearing green and white cockades, (the livery of the Count d'Artois,) took up arms as in a crusade, for the cross and the crown, confounding an attachment to the ancient regime and all its errors with true loyalty. The country was thus threatened with a religious as well as civil war, and the consequence was numerous acts of robbery and assassination. The Protestants being for many reasons opposed to the ancient system, were too often the victims of these outrages. Near fifty citizens of Marseilles were murdered on account of their supposed attachment to Bonaparte : but it was at Nismes in the department of the Garde, that these excesses were carried to the greatest

length. This province contains many Protestants, who are very rich, and possess the commerce of Nismes. The population, however, is chiefly Catholic, and the two parties have been at variance since the Wars of the League. At the commencement of the Revolution, the Protestants of Nismes who, it must be confessed, were not much indebted to the Bourbons, espoused what was then considered the cause of liberty, and were very forward in purchasing the domains of the church and the emigrants. After the Restoration of Louis XVIII. in 1814, they participated in the general apprehension of the insecurity of national property; and after the landing of Bonaparte from Elba, some hundreds of them joined the Imperial forces under General Gilly, by whom, it was alleged, that many cruel outrages were perpetrated on the Catholics. After the final fall of Napoleon, a royalist force was again collected in this department, and Gilly was forced to evacuate Nismes, upon which a royalist partisan named Trestaillon, rushed into the town at the head of an infuriated rabble, commenced a horrible scene of murder and pillage upon the wealthy Protestants, making no distinction between Bonapartists and Royalists; and in this scene of carnage, Trestaillon boasted that he had murdered fourteen Protestants with his own hand.

The greater part of the Protestants now quitted the town, and being joined by the peasantry of

their own persuasion from the remote valleys of the Vannage, the Gardonnesque, and the Avennes, formed themselves into armed bands for self-defence, and a scene of mutual destruction and slaughter ensued. The Count de la Garde, who commanded for Louis in this department, endeavoured in vain to stop these disorders, and the Austrian troops under General Neipperg, were obliged to be called on to disarm both parties. Louis, alarmed at the progress of this religious war, sent the Duke of Angouleme into the South to appease the minds of the contending factions. In this his Royal Highness apparently succeeded ; and before he left Nismes, gave permission to the Protestants to open their churches, commanding General de la Garde to see that his wishes were fulfilled. But the Duke had scarcely departed when new outrages commenced. A body of royal volunteers who had accompanied him to the Pont-de-Lunel, had a serious quarrel with the inhabitants of Calvisson, who were chiefly Protestants, in which a Catholic was killed. This excited fresh disturbances at Nismes; the Huguenots were insulted in the streets, their worship interrupted, and the most shameful outrages committed. The Count de la Garde called out the troops, and secured Trestaillon, the leader of the rabble ; but while engaged in the performance of his duty, he was fired at, and dangerously wounded. This attempt to assassinate the King's officer at length called forth the most ener-

getic exertions of the government, who had been falsely suspected of countenancing these fanatical proceedings, and troops were quartered at Nismes in such numbers as to secure the public tranquillity, while the King ordered immediate measures to be adopted for punishing the authors and abettors of these tumults.

During these commotions, Marshal Macdonald was labouring to restore to order and discipline the Army of the Loire. This, however, was found to be impracticable, and it was at length determined to disband it, and unite its fragments upon a new principle. A royal decree ordered that a new army should be organized without delay. Eighty legions of infantry were to be raised, one in each department; and each legion to contain 1687 men and officers. To these were to be added twelve regiments of artillery, and forty-seven regiments of cavalry, making an aggregate military force of about 200,000 men. In this new army all the well affected men and officers were retained, but the disbanded soldiers now added to the miseries of France. They were joined by many federates; and forming themselves into bands under the tri-coloured banner, they carried on a predatory war in the Cevennes, Franche Comté, and other provinces, where the disposition of the inhabitants or the strength of the country permitted them to find refuge. They were, however, pursued and ultimately dispersed by the allied troops, but not till

much loss had been sustained on both sides. Nor was the capital itself exempt from these disorders, notwithstanding the presence of the allied troops. Many officers and soldiers of the army of the Loire repaired to Paris, though contrary to orders, and took every opportunity of insulting the King's Body Guard, and the officers of the allied armies. Amidst the crowds in the gardens of the Thuilleries cries of *Vive l'Empereur* were frequently heard; and such strong indications of tumult appeared in the month of August, that in addition to the English and Prussian troops, who already occupied all the strong posts of Paris, thirty thousand Russians entered the city, and defiled in long procession before the Allied Sovereigns.

To strengthen the rumour of a conspiracy, the celebrated Colonel Labedoyere was at this time found concealed in Paris, and arrested. He was brought to trial before a Council of War, for having at Grenoble in the preceding month of March, shewed the first example of defection from the royal cause. He did not attempt to deny the charge, but endeavoured to palliate his crime by saying, that "still young (he was only in his twenty-ninth year) he had never served, except under the colours of Napoleon. He had known Louis XVIII. only ten months, and the return of the Emperor, whom he had acknowledged as his legitimate chief, awakened affections, which had been but ill extinguished. He also attempted an

exculpation on the ground of the conduct of Louis and his Ministry, previous to the return of Bonaparte, but this was not allowed by the Court, and Labedoyere was condemned to die. When his wife received the fatal intelligence, she repaired to the Thuilleries clad in deep mourning, fell at the king's feet as he was entering his carriage, and implored the pardon of her husband." "Madame," replied Louis, with much emotion, "I know your sentiments, and those of your family, and never was it more painful for me to pronounce a refusal. If M. Labedoyere had only offended against me, his pardon should have been granted; but all France demands the punishment of a man who has brought on her all the scourges of war." His execution took place on the 19th in the plain of Grenelle, and to the last he displayed the most heroic firmness. After receiving the benediction of his confessor on his knees, he stood erect, and without suffering his eyes to be bandaged, laid open his breast to the soldiers who were appointed to shoot him. "*Surtout ne me manquez pas,*" (above all, do not miss me,) said he: the veterans fired, and in a moment life was extinct.

Marshal Ney* underwent his first examination

* Ney was arrested on the 5th of August at the chateau of Besonis, near Aurillac, which belonged to some relation of his wife, the following singular circumstance having led to his apprehension. Bonaparte, on his return from Egypt, had presented to Ney a sabre of exquisite beauty and workmanship, and no officer

at the Conciergerie. He was ordered to be tried by a military tribunal, of which Marshal Jourdan was appointed President, and the Members were Marshals Massena, Mortier, and Augereau; Generals Gazan, Clapereé, and Villate. By a strange fatuity Ney declined the authority of the court martial, all of whom were his old companions in arms, and requested to be judged according to the royal ordinance of the 24th of June: he was consequently brought to trial for high treason before the Chamber of Peers, which did not assemble for some months after. The proofs of his treason were too palpable to be denied. He acknowledged that he had been misled, and had yielded to the culpable weakness of the times; but he was incapable of voluntary and premeditated treachery. He rested his chief defence, however, on the twelfth article of the capitulation of Paris, which declared that no person resident in the capital should be disturbed or called to an account for his political conduct. To this it was replied, that these conditions were granted by the Allies in their own name, and were only intended to re-

in the French army, except Murat, possessed a similar weapon. A chance visitor at the chateau observed this sword lying on a sofa in one of the rooms, and mentioned it to an acquaintance, who knowing the weapon from the description, affirmed that Murat or Ney must be concealed at Besonis. The rumor reached the local authorities, and they caused Ney to be arrested, whom Fouché's police would otherwise probably have never disturbed.

late to their own actions; but that neither the Duke of Wellington,* or Prince Blucher, pretended to a right of pardoning state crimes committed against the King of France, nor had they any intention of extending their protection to criminals within the walls of Paris, farther than it was necessary to defend [them from military violence. Ney, incensed at what he conceived to be the grossest injustice, indicative of a firm determination to sacrifice him, forbade his counsel to utter another word, and a unanimous vote of the Peers declaring him guilty, he was sentenced to be shot to death on the following day, the 7th of December.

When the fatal sentence was announced to the Marshal, he interrupted the speaker as he detailed his titles—"Michael Ney," said he, "and presently a heap of dust—that sums it all." At four o'clock in the morning his wife and four children

* A few days before the trial, Marshal Ney addressed a long letter on this subject to the ambassadors of the Four Grand Allied Powers, claiming their protection under the 12th article of the capitulation of Paris:—the Duke of Wellington briefly replied, that the capitulation related *exclusively to the military occupation of Paris*, and that the 12th article was to prevent any measure of severity *under the military authority of those who made it, towards any person in Paris*, on account of any office they had filled, or any conduct or political opinions of their's; but it never was intended, and never could be intended, to prevent either the existing French government, under whose authority the French Commander in Chief must have acted, or any French government which might succeed to it, from acting in this respect as it might see fit.

were permitted to take their last farewell. He at first declined the attendance of a confessor, observing, that he did not require a priest to teach him how to die. But a Vendean grenadier remarked, "I have been in many battles, and always fought the better for having made my peace with God." Ney yielded to the suggestion of the veteran, and desired that the curate of St. Sulpice might be sent for. At nine o'clock he entered a carriage with his confessor, and was driven to an alley in the garden of the Luxembourg, where a detachment of sixty soldiers was drawn up for his execution. He quickly stepped from the carriage, and with the dauntless demeanour of 'the bravest of the brave,' his well-known character, he faced his executioners, and ordering the soldiers to aim straight at the heart, he received their fire, and expired. Thus fell one of the most heroic and most talented of Napoleon's celebrated Marshals, leaving to posterity another example of the little worth of these qualities when unaccompanied by fixed and honourable principle. On the perfidy of his conduct there can scarcely be much difference of opinion, though the injustice of his condemnation, as an infringement of the Capitulation of Paris, has found many advocates throughout Europe. But the arguments on both sides have been long before the public, and to their decision we must leave them.

Count Lavalette, who was related to the Ex-Emperor by marriage, was now the only state-pri-

soner who remained for trial. He had been Director of the Posts under the Imperial government, and having taken forcible possession of the post-office after the flight of Louis, had greatly aided Napoleon's progress, by suppressing the King's proclamations, and circulating intelligence favourable to the invader. He was clearly convicted and sentenced to death; but on the evening of the day appointed for his execution, he was rescued from his ignominious fate by an heroic stratagem of his affectionate wife. Being permitted to dine with him, she repaired to the Conciergerie at three o'clock, accompanied by her daughter and her governess. Having recently been confined, she came to the prison wrapped up in a large mantle, and her sedan chair was allowed to be brought into a room adjoining her husband's apartment.—About seven o'clock she signified her intention of departing, and the gaoler being absent on some errand to another room, she seized the moment to throw her dress over her husband, and receiving his cloak in exchange, sunk back into his chair, while Lavalette, in his disguise, entered the sedan without suspicion; and as soon as the chair reached the quay, he stepped into a cabriolet prepared for the purpose, and after driving about Paris for two hours, to prevent all traces by the police, took refuge in the house of one of his friends. His flight was not discovered till an hour after his departure, when the gaoler spoke to his captive; but

receiving no answer, he advanced nearer to the chair, when the Countess with a smile exclaimed, "*Il est parti,*" (he is gone,) and fell into strong convulsions.

The alarm was immediately given; but no traces of the fugitive could be discovered, though he remained twelve days in Paris after his escape; and he was finally conveyed to a place of security, beyond the French territory, through the disinterested exertions of four English gentlemen, Mr. Crawford Bruce, Captain Hutchinson, Sir Robert Wilson, and Captain Eliston. The three former were afterwards arrested and brought to trial, for this violation of the laws of France. They declared that they were actuated by no motive whatever inimical to the French government; that no Frenchman was engaged in the affair; and that their only object was to render their assistance in saving a man who had addressed them as the arbiters of his life or death. They were, however, pronounced guilty, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment—the most lenient punishment allowed by the laws of France.

To the honour of the government of Louis, no further measures of judicial vengeance were resorted to on account of the treason which had driven him from his kingdom. But, to this lenity, the ultra-royalists attributed the spirit of insubordination and disaffection which still prevailed so generally throughout the country; and almost

since the moment of the King's return, they had clamorously demanded a change of ministry, and the dismissal of those statesmen who had served Bonaparte until fortune had turned her back upon him. Their animosity was chiefly directed against Fouché and Talleyrand. Of the former they said, that comparing his past life with his present situation, he could not with decency prosecute other criminals for an offence in which he had cordially joined them ; and if he could in a moment abandon his former principles and party, his conduct ought to inspire suspicion and disgust, rather than confidence, his versatility being the worst possible pledge for his fidelity. With respect to Talleyrand, they said that his reputation consisted in exaggeration and quackery ; and that under the Directory and the Emperor, it was the great victories of the French arms, and not the talents of that Minister, that simplified the negotiations, and laid Europe at the feet of France. Upon the whole they argued that it was a most distressing prospect for the country, that the statesmen who had the greatest share in creating the public misery should now pass for being the only Ministers capable of repairing it.

These allegations received considerable weight from the little energy which had been used in securing the proscribed persons, most of whom were already out of reach, and the commotions by which the country was still disturbed ; while the elections

being closed, and the complexion of the Chamber of Deputies, being decidedly Royalist, pointed out to the King the necessity of a change of administration. Talleyrand, Fouché, and others of the Ministry now found it necessary to send in their resignation. It was accompanied by a letter to the King, in which they charged the Ultras with fanatical violence, and alleged that that party would prefer the sacrifice of the peace, the glory, the strength, and the political existence of France, to seeing her free and happy under a liberal constitution. To them they attributed the spirit of re-action in various parts of France, and the counteraction of those measures of the Ministry which would have united all Frenchmen in love, honour, and obedience to the King. Finally, they exhorted his Majesty to guide his reign by the constitution, and by a royal prerogative recognized and established, and not by a faction who would substitute passion in their room.

Fouché, to break his fall, was appointed Ambassador to the Court of Dresden, and Talleyrand had some trifling office assigned him near the King's person, while his name was continued in the Privy Council. The new Ministry was announced on the 26th of September. The Duke de Richelieu, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, was placed at the head of the administration : while his rank and connexions gave him an interest with the Ultras, he was considered a man of liberal principles, pos-

possessing sound sense and great knowledge of the world; the *Sieur Des Cazes* was appointed Minister of Police; Count *Barbé Marbois* Minister of Justice; and Count *Corvetto* Minister of Finance; these three belonged to the moderate or constitutional party. Count *Vaublanc*, Minister of the Interior; and the Viscount *Dubouchage*, Minister of the Marine, were both decided royalists; and *Clarke*, Duke of *Feltre*, the Minister at War, was supposed to be inclined to the same party. Such a Ministry under the direction of a Premier of good sense and moderation was judged to contain a sufficient portion of royalism to please the the Chamber of Deputies, and at the same time adequate checks to guard against a re-actionary spirit. But they quickly found that they had a task to perform of no ordinary kind, to restrain from open violence a people distracted by opposing interests, and smarting under the severities and indignities which an immense invading host had brought upon them.

There appeared a striking contrast between the conduct of the Allies towards the French at the first and second occupation of Paris. In 1814, both parties seemed sincerely rejoiced at the renewal of those bonds of amity which twenty years of hostility had severed, and the French nation got credit for a hearty and eternal abandonment of the man, whose ambition they then pronounced to be the cause of all their misery. Hence old

animosities appeared to be forgotten ; and no terms were exacted from France inconsistent with her honour and her independence. But now the case was sadly altered. The levity with which the French people had broken their engagements, and the tameness with which they had again submitted to the authority of the enemy of peace, pointed out to the Allied Powers the necessity of adopting stronger measures for securing the tranquillity of Europe, and this produced in the minds of the conquered the most fearful apprehensions for the future settlement of their country, while the conquerors, stimulated by jealousy and resentment, seemed disposed to exercise with full effect the power which victory had given them. The nation was made to groan under the burthen of free quarters for more than eight hundred thousand men, while heavy requisitions were demanded from time to time for their clothing and subsistence. In this way the capital had, for a considerable time, to bear the burthen of two large armies ; and though the licentiousness of the Prussians had been in some degree restrained, yet they frequently gave intimations of their recollection of past injuries, while in the provinces the allied troops were accused by the French Ministers of having committed the most horrible excesses.

But amongst the various humiliations which France had now to suffer, none inflicted so deep a wound as that which was most just. Napoleon, in

the pride of conquest, had despoiled all the continental cities which fell into his power, of their richest treasures in painting and statuary, in order to make Paris, in this respect, the capital of the world. All his expeditions had been attended by artists of celebrity, who, when any city fell into his power, intimated to him the master-pieces of art which it contained, either in public or private collections. These were immediately seized by open violence, or under the colour of treaties, and transmitted to enrich the Central Museum at Paris; and in this way, by feeding the vanity of the citizens he consoled them for the loss of their property and their children. Thus the Venus de Medici, the Apollo Belvidere, and the most celebrated pictures of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Corregio, &c. were transported from Italy, while the Low Countries were stripped of the master-pieces of the Flemish school. The celebrated collection of pictures at Dresden was plundered of many of its *chefs-d'œuvre*, notwithstanding the submission of the Elector. Vienna, Berlin, and Potzdam, shared a similar fate; and in it Moscow would have participated, had not the plunder of the Kremlin been re-taken before it passed the Beresina. The very ornaments which decorated the apartments where they were exhibited in the Louvre were acquired by the same unjustifiable means; the twelve granite pillars which supported the Hall of Sculpture, having been brought from Aix la Chapelle,

while the bronze folding doors of the Grand Salon were the spoils of a church at Rome.*

In the former campaign, the Allies, through a feeling of delicacy towards the restored sovereign, at a time when the demand might have lessened him in the eyes of his new subjects, abstained from exacting the restitution of those specimens of art, of which they had been so unjustly deprived; but now they resolved that the French should possess no memorials of the power they had exercised over other states, to exhibit as emblems of their past conquests, and incentives to further wars. At the capitulation of Paris, the Provisional Government had endeavoured to secure the integrity of the Museum; but this was sternly rejected by Blucher, who insisted on the restoration of his master's property. The Commissioners then offered to make the Prussian pictures an exception; but the Duke of Wellington, as representative of the other powers, declared that he would not give up their rights, and recommended that the matter should be referred to the decision of the sovereigns. Blucher, however, removed without ceremony, the pictures belonging to Prussia and her dependent states; and in the month of September, Lord Castlereagh, in the name of the Prince Regent, demanded the restoration of the various master-pieces of art to the countries from which they had

* Paul's Letters.

been transported; and to express his abhorrence of the principle by which the French had become possessed of them, he even declined to purchase any of them from the rightful owners, from his anxiety to see them replaced in those temples and galleries, of which they had so long been the ornaments. The work of restitution now began, and of fifteen hundred pictures which decorated the walls of the Louvre, not quite three hundred were left—the Venus, the Apollo, the Laocoon, the Corinthian Horses of Venice, the Ganymede, the Transfiguration, the Madonna della Seggio, &c. &c. were borne off amid the clamour and menaces of the populace, while the Bourbon princes shut themselves up in their palace, and the connoisseurs were melted even to tears by anguish and resentment.

This event was soon followed by the adjustment of a Definitive Treaty between France and the Allied Powers, respecting which a negotiation had been carried on at Paris for several months, by Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington as the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies, and the Duke de Richelieu on the part of France. The articles, which were so framed as to humble the pride of France, to deprive her as far as possible of the power of disturbing the tranquillity of Europe, and to indemnify the conquerors, in some degree, for the enormous expenses which they had incurred in this singular campaign, were fixed by the pro-

tocol of the Conference on the 2d of October, in substance as follows :

The boundaries of France as they were in 1790, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, were to form the fundamental principles of the territorial arrangements, so that those districts and territories of former Belgium, of Germany and Savoy, which by the Treaty of Paris of 1814 were annexed to Old France, were now separated therefrom. In conformity to this principle, France ceded to the Allies Landau, Saarlouis, Phillippeville, and Mariembourg, on the northern frontier, and agreed to destroy the works of Huningen. Versoy was ceded to the Helvetic Confederation, and the principality of Monaco to his Sardinian Majesty ; while on the other hand, the possession of Avignon, the Venaisin, and the county of Montbelliard were secured to France.

It was agreed further, that France should pay to the Allied Powers, by way of indemnity for the expense of their last armaments, seven hundred millions of francs, (about twenty-nine millions sterling) ; and that a military line, including the fortresses of Condé, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambray, Le Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroy, Givet, Mezieres, Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, Longwy, Buche, and the *Tete-du-pont* of Port Louis, should be occupied by one hundred and fifty thousand of the allied troops, at the expense of France. The longest duration of this military

occupation [was fixed at five years—but if at the end of three years, after the Allied Sovereigns had weighed the situation of things, and of mutual interests, as well as the advances which may have been made in the restoration of order and tranquillity in France, they would concert with the King of France, whether the above term of five years might not be shortened.

Of the indemnity levied upon France, the Allies appropriated one hundred and thirty-seven millions five hundred thousand francs to the purpose of fortifying the north-eastern frontier of the Netherlands and Germany. Twelve millions and a half were to be divided amongst the states of Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Switzerland—fifty millions to be equally divided between Great Britain, and Prussia, upon whom the burthen of the war had chiefly fallen. Four-fifths of the remaining four hundred and fifty millions were to be equally divided between England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia; and the remaining fifth among the other States who had acceded to the treaty of the 25th of March.*

* Apportionment of the 700,000,000 francs :—

	Francs.	Sterling:
Fortifying points most exposed to aggression, . . .	137,500,000,	about 5½ Millions.
To Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Switzerland,	12,500,000,	— ½
To Great Britain,	125,000,000,	— 5¼
To Prussia,	125,000,000,	— 5¼
To Austria,	100,000,000,	— 4¼
To Russia,	100,000,000,	— 4¼
To the Minor States,	100,000,000,	— 4¼
	<hr/> 700,000,000,	<hr/> — 29¼

The Duke of Wellington was entrusted by the Allied Sovereigns with the high office of Generalissimo of the Army of Occupation, their Majesties declaring, at the same time, that they were chiefly guided in the adoption of the measure, by motives tending to the safety and welfare of their subjects. They disclaimed all intention of employing their troops in any way that might compromise or interfere with the free exercise of the royal authority in France; they expressed, however, their determination of supporting his Most Christian Majesty with their arms against every revolutionary convulsion which might tend to overthrow by force, the order of things at present established, and to menace again the general tranquillity of Europe. Foreseeing the difficulties which might arise with regard to circumstances that might call for the intervention of a foreign force, they left it to the tried prudence and discretion of the Duke of Wellington to decide, when and how far it might be advisable to employ the troops under his orders, always supposing that he would previously concert his measures with the King of France, and as soon as possible give information to the Allied Sovereigns of the motives which should have induced him to come to such a determination.

On the 17th of October, Louis communicated to the new legislature, the severe but necessary conditions to which the nation had been forced to submit, in the following speech:—"Gentlemen, when last I assembled the two Chambers for the

first time, I congratulated myself upon having, by an honourable treaty, restored peace to France. She began to taste the fruit of it; all the sources of public prosperity were re-opening, when a criminal enterprise, seconded by the most inconceivable defection, arrested their course. The evils which this ephemeral usurpation caused our country deeply afflicted me; yet, I ought to declare here, that had it been possible to affect none but myself, I should have blessed Providence. The marks of affection which my people have given me in the most critical moments, have consoled me in my personal sufferings; but those of my subjects, of my children, weigh upon my heart, and in order to put a period to this state of affairs, more burthensome than even the war itself, I have concluded with the powers, which, after having destroyed the usurper, still occupy a great portion of our territory, a convention which regulates our present and future relations with them. You well know, gentlemen, and all France well know, the profound grief I must have felt; but the very safety of my kingdom rendered the great determination necessary, and when I took it I felt the duties it imposed upon me: I have ordered that there should this year be paid, from the treasury of my Civil List, into the treasury of the state, a considerable portion of my revenue. My family were no sooner informed of my resolution than they offered me a proportionate gift. I shall

always be ready to share sacrifices which imperious circumstances impose upon my people. All the statements shall be submitted to you, and you will know the importance of the economy which I have commanded in the departments of my Ministers, and in all parts of the Government; happy if these measures shall suffice for the burthens of the state. In all events, I rely upon the devotedness of the nation, and the zeal of the two Chambers."

The Army of Occupation* now repaired to its afloat,

* The British portion of the Army of Occupation consisted of the following regiments :

CAVALRY, under Lieut-General Lord Combermere—1st Brigade, Lord Edward Somerset; 1st and 2d Dragoon Guards, 3d Dragoons.—2d Brigade, Major General Sir R. H. Vivian; 7th and 18th Hussars, 12th Light Dragoons.—3d Brigade, Major-General Sir Colquhoun Grant; 11th and 13th Light Dragoons, 15th Hussars.

INFANTRY, under Lieutenant-General Lord Hill—1st Brigade, Major-General Sir P. Maitland; 1st Guards, (3d batalion;) Coldstream Guards, (2d batt.)—2d Brigade, Major-General Sir M. Power, 1st Royals, (3d bat.) 57th, 95th, 2d batt.—3d Brigade, Major-General Sir R. O'Callaghan; 3d, 39th, and 91st.—4th Brigade, Major-General Sir D. Pack; 4th, 52d, and 79th.—5th Brigade, Major-General Sir T. Brisbane; 5th, 9th, and 21st.—6th brigade, Sir T. Bradford; 6th, 29th, and 71st.—7th Brigade, Major-General Sir J. Kempt; 7th, 23d, and 43d.—8th Brigade, Major-General Sir J. Lambert 27th, (1st batt.) 40th, and 95th, (1st batt.)—9th Brigade, Major-General Sir J. Keane; 81st and 88th regiments.

The following regiments who had assisted at the reduction of Paris returned to England about the close of the year :

CAVALRY, 1st and 2d Life Guards, Royal Horse Guards, 2d and 6th Dragoons, 16th and 23d Light Dragoons.

ted stations, while the remainder of the allied troops slowly retired from the soil of France; and the victorious Sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, returned in triumph to their respective capitals.*

INFANTRY—1st Foot Guards, (2d bat.) 3d Foot Guards, (2d bat.) 1st Royals, (4th batt.) 12th, (2d) 14th, (3d,) 16th, 27th, (3d) 28th, 30th, (2d) 32d, 33d, 35th, (2d) 36th, 38th, 41st, 42d, 44th, (2d) 51st, 54th, 58th, 59th, (2d) 62d, (2d) 64th, 69th, (2d) 73d, (2d) 81st, (2d) 82d, 90th, 92d, and 95th, (3d batt.)

* Before the Allied Sovereigns quitted Paris, they signed with their own hands the famous League, usually termed the Holy Alliance. However it may be ridiculed by some, we are of opinion that if the principles upon which it is founded shall continue to guide the conduct of the sovereigns and their successors, this celebrated League is well calculated to secure the peace and prosperity of Europe for a long period. The Convention was drawn up in the following terms:—

In the name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity. Their Majesties the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, have agreed to the following articles :

Article I.—Conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures, which command all men to consider each other as brethren, the three contracting monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity; and considering each other as fellow countrymen, they will, on all occasions, and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance; and regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated, to protect religion, peace, and justice.

Article II.—In consequence, the sole principle in force, whether between the said governments, or between their subjects, shall be, that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying, by unalterable good will, the mutual affection with which they ought to be animated, to consider themselves all as members of one and the same Christian nation; the three Allied Princes looking on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of one family, namely, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, thus

Surrounded by these appalling circumstances, Louis XVIII. had to attempt the re-establishment of his throne over a people split into factions by bitter animosities of long duration, and united only in a common feeling of shame and sorrow for the degradation of their country. One of the first measures of the new legislature was to extinguish the remains of agitation and disorder by the promulgation of a general amnesty, from which, however, were excepted those regicides, who had promoted the late usurpation, and who were banished for ever from France, together with criminals of that class to which Marshal Ney belonged. To detail the subsequent events of the reign of

confessing that the Christian nation, of which they and their people form a part, has in reality no other sovereign than Him to whom alone power really belongs, because in Him alone are found all the treasures of love, science, and infinite wisdom; that is to say, God, our Divine Saviour, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life. Their Majesties consequently recommend to their people, with the most tender solicitude, as the sole means of enjoying that peace which arises from a good conscience, and which alone is durable, to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind,

Article III.—All the powers who shall choose solemnly to avow the assured principles which have dictated the present Act, and shall acknowledge how important it is for the happiness of nations, too long agitated, that those truths should henceforth exercise over the destinies of mankind all the influence which belongs to them, will be received with equal ardor and affection into this Holy Alliance.

*Done at Paris on the 26th of
September, 1815.*

Louis XVIII. must be the work of a future historian, but we may be allowed to say, that the good order and tranquillity which have prevailed in France, during a period of ten years, afford the most solid proofs that the government of the restored monarch must have been guided by a vigour and discretion, fully adequate to the perilous enterprize which it had to encounter.

While the Allies had thus succeeded in weakening the power and checking the ambition of France, by stripping her of all her conquests, the conclusion of the deliberations of the Congress at Vienna had effected some important changes in the relative situation of the other continental powers, the adoption of which was considered necessary for giving to the different states of Europe a just equilibrium and a proper share of political power. Austria obtained possession of all her ancient Italian dominions with the addition of Venice and Tuscany. Genoa was added to the dominions of the King of Sardinia. Switzerland was gratified by the annexation of the Vallais, Geneva, and the principality of Neufchatel, while by a new federal compact an equality of rights was granted to every component part of the union. The Dukedom of Warsaw with the greater part of Poland was irrevocably assigned to the Emperor of Russia, who declared himself King of that country. Extensive cessions of territory were granted to the King of Prussia by Austria, Saxony, and Hanover, which have placed that kingdom in the first rank amongst

European powers. Hanover was erected into a kingdom, and the Ionian Islands were declared a free, independent state under the protection of Great Britain : and with the view of establishing a strong barrier against the French on the side of the Netherlands, the late Belgic provinces were annexed to Holland, and the whole seventeen provinces thus re-united were erected into the kingdom of the Netherlands under, the sovereignty of the Prince of Orange, with a constitution highly favourable to popular liberty.

All Napoleon's changes in Germany were abrogated by the Congress, and an Act of Confederation was framed for the more effectual maintenance of peace and security throughout that country. By this ordinance the sovereign princes and free cities were authorised to send plenipotentiaries to Frankfort to form a Diet, in which a delegate of the House of Austria was to preside. The members of the union were left at perfect liberty to form foreign alliances not repugnant to the general safety, or to that of any particular branch of the Confederacy. All were bound to repel hostilities if only one member were attacked, and the possessions of each prince and community were guaranteed by the whole body. War was not allowed in any case to disunite the members of the League, for all differences were to be referred to the decision of the Diet. In every state a representative body was to be established, and other arrangements favorable to liberty were promised to the

people. In this Grand Confederation, the King of the Netherlands was included for Luxemburg, and the King of Denmark for Holstein.

The singularly interesting and extraordinary transactions of, perhaps, the most eventful quarter of a century which the political world has ever witnessed, have now passed in rapid review before us. We have seen the rise, the progress, and we trust, the termination of a Revolution, which, during its frenzy, threatened to subvert the most sacred institutions of civilized life, and after its frenzy had subsided, invested that extraordinary individual, who has since filled the world with his name, with the powers of a perpetual dictatorship, which he wielded for twelve years with a degree of energy and success, that threatened the complete subjugation of Europe to the yoke of France. To indulge in lengthened reflections on this momentous subject would fill volumes; but a few brief concluding remarks on its peculiar characteristics may not be unnecessary. A long continued system of despotism, though mitigated by the virtues of the reigning sovereign, called for changes in France—but the physicians who undertook to restore the body politic to health and vigour, were, unhappily, charlatans, whose violent remedies, after expelling the disease, rendered the patient a maniac. Confounding Christianity with the errors which man had appended to it, and royalty with the abuses which had been too long connected with it in that country, the legislators of France resolved to ven-

ture on an experiment, founded on the perfectibility of human reason, and the universalequality of mankind. But while they placed reason in the throne of the Deity, and proclaimed the mob their King, the dictates of reason were spurned, and the rights of all trampled on, save those of their own faction. The sacred restraints of Christianity were thrown aside as a degrading yoke; all distinctions which rank, talent, or virtue had created amongst men were levelled, and the mark of proscription was set on all who were talented or virtuous. Rome, under her worst emperors, never presented to the world so hideous a spectacle of frantic slaughter and impiety as the French capital, while under the government of the mob. In the midst of these convulsions, hostile armies approached the soil of France; but the people, in revolutionary strength, drove back the invaders, and carried their arms and their principles into all the surrounding countries.

It was at the moment when France became exhausted by this violent paroxysm, and after the furies who had excited it had fallen by mutual slaughter, that Napoleon Bonaparte appeared at the head of the Army of Italy. His youth, his ardor, and his commanding genius, rendered him the idol of the soldiery, and he pursued a career of triumph, hitherto unparalleled; till the House of Austria was compelled to purchase a peace from the French Republic, at the expense of her richest

Italian provinces. The laurels which he reaped in Egypt added to his popularity, while the imbecile tyranny which the Directory exercised over the still agitated population of France, opened an easy path to the young aspirant for the attainment of sovereign power; and, aided by the sagacity of his ministers, Talleyrand and Fouché, he caused foreign hostilities to cease, and hushed the murmurs of domestic faction. Bonaparte at this time might have acted a part, which would have secured for him the character of the benefactor rather than that of the scourge of mankind: but seized by the demon of an illimitable ambition, he first sought to make himself the head of a new dynasty in France; then to fill the surrounding thrones with his family or his vassals; and at length, inflated by success, he deemed himself invincible, and grasped at universal empire. But the Great Ruler of the universe, who laughs to scorn the schemes of human policy, and the efforts of human power, checked his mad career, by instruments concealed from human foresight.—The arms of Britain, whom, as a military nation, he affected to despise, first proved to the world that Napoleon was not invincible—the snows of Russia wasted the flower of that army, with which he had already dissipated two formidable coalitions—and the nations of Europe roused, by his reverses, to a sense of their degradation, made a simultaneous and successful movement to hurl him from the

power which he had so flagitiously abused. The political life of Bonaparte embraced a period of twenty-one years; of which the first seven were spent in acquiring that popularity, which raised him to the sovereignty of France—during the next seven, he progressed to the zenith of his power, which may be fixed at the peace of Tilsit; and his decline which commenced at the invasion of Spain in 1808, terminated in his final overthrow in 1815.

But while thus sketching the outline of Napoleon's public life, we would not be understood as holding up to view a character so wholly depraved as to be blended with no redeeming virtue. We have hitherto only regarded him as the slave of a passion whose indulgence has entailed misery on millions, and degraded the nation, whose exaltation he professed to be his darling object. The full development of his character will more properly belong to other times, when the motives of his actions shall be more clearly known, and their remote consequences determined by the test of experience. It would be folly to deny his extraordinary talents both as a general and a statesman—his repeated triumphs over all the great military powers of the continent prove the former—while his successful measures of diplomacy, his admirable code of laws, with the exception of those which were necessary to the support of his tyranny, and his plans for the internal improvement of France,

establish the latter. But he wanted that integrity which alone could give confidence to foreign nations, and neither his word nor his treaty could be relied on when set in competition with his ambitious designs. One bright feature, however, shone in the character of Napoleon, namely, the complete liberty of conscience, which he gave to persons of all religious denominations throughout his dominions—a salutary measure which has not ceased with his power, while the example has been happily followed by many of the surrounding nations.

The history of Great Britain during this momentous period, furnishes subjects of reflection, scarcely less striking and instructive than that of her great rival. Awakened by the warning voice of Burke, the mighty energies of William Pitt were called into exercise for the preservation of her liberties and her institutions. Heaven smiled on the effort, and the bright example of her sovereign, with the loyal heroism of her people, caused every attempt for their subversion to recoil on its projectors with disgrace. Can we look back to the year 1797, without feelings of mingled terror, gratitude, and admiration? England was on the verge of national bankruptcy—her sailors in a state of mutiny—the population of the sister island ready to rush into open rebellion—while the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland were on the point of forming a junction, to bring destruction to our shores. The naval victory off Cape St. Vincent,

achieved by the united skill and bravery of Jervis and Nelson, and that of Camperdown, gained by Admiral Duncan, allay our fears, and confidence is again restored. In the following year, while a sanguinary civil war is raging in Ireland, the security of our Indian Empire is menaced by the expedition to Egypt. Nelson again appears as the assertor of his country's rights, and destroys the hostile squadron; while the energetic wisdom of Marquis Wellesley causes this attempt to subvert the power of Britain in the East, to terminate in its consolidation. In 1801, the famous Northern Confederacy threatens to dispute with England, the sceptre of the ocean—Nelson dissipates the illusion with a blow, and the re-conquest of Egypt by the British army under Sir Ralph Abercrombie in the same year, points out to the proud ruler of France the necessity of peace with England.

In the war which succeeded the short and feverish Peace of Amiens, Great Britain and France appeared as the two grand belligerents, the other powers of Europe occasionally acting from policy or necessity, as auxiliaries to either party. A formidable continental confederacy concerted in 1805 was speedily dissolved by the powerful genius of Napoleon, and almost at the same moment, the gallant Nelson crushed the last remnant of the naval power of France and Spain; but like Sampson's, his life became a sacrifice to the heroic effort.

Not three months elapsed between the death of the naval hero of Britain and that of her great premier, who, for twenty-two years had safely managed the vessel of the state.—William Pitt expired, lamenting his country; but he left his mantle and his spirit to some of his colleagues, who in after years steered the bark with triumph and success. The succeeding administration in which Mr. Fox filled a prominent situation, did much for Britain, by abolishing the African Slave Trade. If national crimes call down national punishments, surely Britain had reason to dread the Divine vengeance, while this horrible traffic was permitted. It is worthy of note, that, from the period of the abolition, singular prosperity attended all the efforts of this country. In 1808 our great military hero drove the French, under Marshal Junot, out of Portugal. In 1809, he expelled Marshal Soult from the same country; and from thence he commenced that splendid career of triumph, which terminated in planting the British standard on the hitherto untouched soil of France. His glorious example first arrayed embattled Europe against the tyrant of the Continent; and his consummate skill and the bravery of his troops gave the death blow to his power. Indeed the energy displayed by Great Britain in the latter years of the war, when her army and navy were successfully engaged at the same time in Europe, Asia, and America,

must be matter of astonishment to all future ages.*

The French Revolution, with its sanguinary accompaniments, has passed by, like the hurricane, bearing desolation on its wings; but it has left the political atmosphere purified and refreshed. The gorgeous panorama of military pomp, and of the rise and fall of kings and nations, has faded from our vision, and we have now only to contemplate its probable effects on the future destinies of man-

* The power and resources of Great Britain may be more fully estimated by the following statements:—

	S. of Line.	50 ga. frigs.	spe.	ba.	br.	cut. schs.	Total.
British Navy in Commission and Ordinary.	264	36	264	177	14	172	46—64—1,037
							Men.
Manned by							147,352
							32,668
LAND FORCES IN 1812.							
British Regular Army	..	..	..	..	..	..	301,000
Militia of Great Britain	..	..	..	..	..	..	196,446
Volunteers Do. Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..	88,000
Militia and Yeomanry of Ireland	..	..	..	..	..	..	80,000
Militia and Fencibles in the Colonies	..	..	..	..	..	..	25,000
Foreign Corps in the British Service	..	..	..	..	..	..	30,741
British Forces in India	..	..	..	..	..	..	20,913
Native Indian Army	..	..	..	..	..	..	140,000
Total of Forces by Sea and Land							1,062,020

The total expenditure of Great Britain, from the commencement of the Revolutionary War in 1793, to the 5th of January 1816, amounted to £1,562,638,172. Of this enormous sum four hundred and fifty millions were disbursed during the last four years of the war!—the subsidies and loans to Foreign Powers amounted to sixty-eight millions; and the unredeemed debt of Great Britain on the 5th of January 1816, was £634,177,953. Of this sum, only eighteen millions were due to foreigners.

kind. Millions of human beings were the victims of its fury ; but we trust that hundreds of millions yet unborn, will have to rejoice at its occurrence. It may be asked, what has it done for the world, for Europe, for France or England, the two principal champions in the conflict, which can compensate for

Mr. Colquhoun has given the following estimate of landed and other property, public and private, throughout the British dominions at the close of the war :—

In Great Britain and Ireland	..	£2,736,640,000
— Nine Dependencies in Europe	..	22,181,330
— Seven Settlements in N. America	..	48,575,380
— Fourteen Colonies in the West Indies		100,014,864
— Four Settlements in Africa	..	4,770,600
— Five Settlements and Colonies in Asia		33,721,090
		<hr/>
		£ 2,948,883,144
Public and Private property in the territories under the control of the East India Company	}	1,072,427,761
		<hr/>
Total Estimate of Property in the British Empire		£ 4,021,310,895

Estimate of the Annual Income arising in Great Britain and Ireland, at the same period.

From Agriculture	.. ..	£ 216,817,624
— Manufactures	.. ..	114,230,000
— Inland Trade	.. ..	31,600,000
— Mines and Minerals	.. ..	9,000,000
— Foreign Commerce and Shipping		46,373,748
— Coasting Trade and Fisheries		4,100,000
— Banks	.. ..	3,600,000
— Foreign Income	.. ..	5,000,000
		<hr/>
Total Income		£ 430,521,372

Of the numerous conquests made by the arms of Great Britain, she retains Malta, the seven Ionian Islands, the Cape of Good Hope, the Isle of France, Ceylon, Trinidad, Tobago, and Demerara ; besides a vast accession of territory in the East Indies.

the crimes and the miseries which it has produced? We are fully sensible of the extent of those crimes and miseries which for more than twenty years, rendered Europe a field of blood: the wrath of man against his fellow had been let loose in an unusual way; but the fierceness of that wrath has been restrained, and that all-wise Being who is ever out of evil educing good, will no doubt eventually cause the transactions of this memorable epoch to turn to his praise, and to the permanent benefit of his creatures. The French Revolution reads a lesson both for princes and subjects, which we trust, will never be forgotten. To the former, it points out the folly of attempting, in an age of light, to govern men by those despotic systems which had their origin in a period of ignorance and barbarism—and to the latter, the horrible conse-

Summary of the Population of the British Empire in 1815.

	Europeans.	Free Men of Colour.	Negroes.	Total.
England (including Army and Navy.)	10,210,068			10,210,068
Wales	611,788			611,788
Scotland	1,805,688			1,805,688
Ireland	4,600,000			4,600,000
Brit. Dependencies in Europe	180,300			180,300
— in N. America	486,146			486,146
— in West Indies	64,994	33,081	634,096	732,171
— in Africa	20,878	108,299		128,977
— in Asia	61,069	1,807,496	140,450	2,009,006
East India Company's possess.	25,246	40,033,162		40,058,408
	<u>17,965,967</u>	<u>41,982,038</u>	<u>774,546</u>	<u>60,722,551</u>

If the Population of the other portions of the Empire have increased in the same ratio as that of Ireland, since 1815, 10,000,000 may be added to the above estimate.

quences of that licentiousness, which must be the certain result of all attempts to correct abuses by violent means. Those states whose flourishing towns and fertile fields have been devastated by the scourge of war, may learn the danger of drawing the hostile sword, except in defence of their most important interests. France, especially, should be taught the folly of that restless ambition, which for ages had procured for her the character of the common disturber of Europe. Her Sovereign and her people should learn wisdom by what they have suffered; and consider themselves the gainers by exchanging the empty titles of the *Grand Monarque*, and the Great Nation, for those of a patriot king, and a well-governed country. The Sovereign will feel his throne secure, while he respects a Charter founded on the basis of a well ordered liberty, which protects alike, the persons, the property, and the religion of all classes of his subjects. The people, delivered from *Lettres de Cachet*, Bastiles, and the long train of feudal oppressions, by which they were so long enslaved to their proud lords, can now hold up their heads with the port of freemen; light and information are rapidly diffusing amongst them; and if they industriously cultivate the arts of peace, and assiduously guard those liberal institutions, by which they are protected, time will remedy the defects which still remain, and the French will yet become a great, a prosperous, and a happy people.

Britain bore the brunt of this extraordinary conflict, under every varied change of circumstances, with a firmness and vigour which must inspire confidence into the hearts of all who love her institutions, and her interests. Never did the stability of that Constitution, which has been so long her glory, and is now become a model for other nations, endure such a test, assailed as it was at once, by foreign hostility, intestine discord, and national distress : but she rode triumphant through the storm, blessing every land which her arms had visited. All the efforts which the demon of darkness had exercised to diffuse infidelity, and disorganize society, met with a counteracting principle in Britain; hence sprang up amongst us, numerous institutions for the diffusion of religious and useful knowledge, and for cherishing the principles of virtue and loyalty—institutions which are now rapidly spreading their salutary influences to the most remote quarters of the globe—for her empire is now so extensive, that on her dominions the sun never sets: before his evening rays leave the spires of Quebec, his morning beams have shone three hours on Port Jackson; and while sinking in the waters of Lake Superior, his eye opens upon the mouth of the Ganges. Britain has conquered not to oppress, but to benefit those who have become the subjects of her sway; and where her authority is not acknowledged, her character opens the door to the extension of those principles, which have rendered

her a great and a happy nation ; and which, when generally acted upon, will confer the same blessings on the world. The Wars of the French Revolution have indeed burthened England with a load of debt, which wise management and a long peace can alone enable her to shake off,—and she will still have her shocks and her alarms arising from the fluctuations of trade and popular discontent : but the pre-eminent station to which she has been raised, by the result of the conflict, affords pleasing anticipations of the preservation of tranquillity ; and while she exercises her power with moderation, and employs her wealth to bless mankind, we would pray that the pre-eminence of Great Britain may be perpetual.

FINIS.

COURSE OF ACTIVE SERVICE

Of the Regiments of the British Army, during the Wars of the French Revolution, from the year 1793 to 1815.

CAVALRY.

1st and 2d Life Guards.	Peninsula, 1814 Waterloo, 1815			Peninsula. 1815 Waterloo, 1815
Roy. Horse Guards, (Oxford Blues)	Netherlands, 1794 Peninsula, 1814 Waterloo, 1815			Paris, — Netherlands, 1794
1st Drag. Guards, (King's)	Netherlands, 1793 Peninsula, 1814 Waterloo, 1815		6th Hussars, (King's Roy. Irish)	Egypt, 1801 India. —
2d Drag. Guards, (Queen's)	Paris, — Netherlands, 1793		9th Lancers,	Ireland, 1798 Buenos Ayres, 1807 Walcheren, 1809 Peninsula. — N. America, 1814
3d Drag. Guards, (P. of Wales's)	Peninsula, 1793		10th Roy. Hussars, (P. of W.'s Own)	Peninsula. 1809 Waterloo, 1815
4th Drag. Guards, (Royal Irish)	Netherlands, 1794 Ireland, 1798 Peninsula. —			Paris, — Netherlands, 1793 Holland, 1799 Peninsula. — Waterloo, 1815
5th Drag. Guards, (P. Ch. of Wales's)	Netherlands, 1793 Ireland, 1798 Peninsula. —		11th Lt. Dragoons,	Paris, — Netherlands, 1793 Holland, 1799 Peninsula. — Waterloo, 1815
6th Drag. Guards, (Carabineers)	Netherlands, 1793 Ireland, 1798 Buenos Ayres, 1807 Ireland, 1798		12th Lancers, (P. of W.'s Royal)	Paris, — Rome, 1796 Egypt, 1801 Walcheren, 1809 Peninsula. — Waterloo, 1815
7th Drag. Guards, (Princess Royal's)	Ireland, 1798			Paris, — West Indies, 1796 Peninsula. — Waterloo, 1815
1st Dragoons, (Royals)	Netherlands, 1793 Peninsula. — Waterloo, 1815 Paris, —		13th Lt. Dragoons,	Paris, — West Indies, 1796 Peninsula. — Waterloo, 1815
2d Dragoons, (Scotch Greys)	Netherlands, 1793 Waterloo, 1815 Paris, —			Paris, — Netherlands, 1794 West Indies, 1796 Peninsula. — N. America, 1814
3d Light Dragoons, (King's Own)	Walcheren, 1809 Peninsula. — Paris, 1815		14th Lt. Dragoons, (Duch. of Y.'s Own)	Netherlands, 1794 West Indies, 1796 Peninsula. — N. America, 1814
4th Dragoons,	Peninsula. —			Netherlands, 1798 Holland, 1799 Corunna, 1809 Peninsula. — Waterloo, 1815
5th Dragoons, (late Royal Irish)	Ireland, 1798		15th Hussars, (King's)	Paris, — Netherlands, 1793 Peninsula. — Waterloo, 1815
6th Dragoons, (Enniskillen)	Netherlands, 1793 Peninsula. — Waterloo, 1815 Paris, —		16th Lancers, (Queen's)	Netherlands, 1793 Peninsula. — Waterloo, 1816 Paris, —
7th Hussars, (Queen's Own)	Netherlands, 1793 Holland, 1799 Corunna, 1809			

17th Lancers,	West Indies, 1798	22d Lt. Drag. (late)	Ireland, 1798
	Monte Video, 1807		India.
	Buenos Ayres, —	23d ——— (late)	Ireland, 1798
	India.		Egypt, 1801
18th Hussars (late)	West Indies, 1798		Peninsula.
	Holland, 1799		Waterloo, 1815
	Corunna, 1809		Paris, —
	Peninsula.	24th ——— (late)	Ireland, 1798
	Waterloo, 1815		India.
	Paris, —	25th ——— (late)	C. Good Hope, 1798
19th Lancers (late)	India.		India.
	N. America, 1814	26th ——— (late)	West Indies, 1798
20th Lt. Drag. (late)	West Indies, 1793		India.
	Egypt, 1807	27th ——— (late)	C. Good Hope, 1798
	Sicily.		India.
	Portugal, 1808	28th ——— (late)	India.
	Ion. Islands, 1809	29th ——— (late)	India.
	Catalonia.		
21st ——— (late)	West Indies, 1798		
	Monte Video, 1807		
	India.		

INFANTRY.

Royal Foot Guards,	Netherlands, 1793		Peninsula.
7 Battalions.	Ostend, 1798		N. America, 1814
	Ireland, —		Paris, 1815
	Holland, 1799	4th (King's Own)	West Indies, 1793
	Egypt, 1801	3 Battalions.	Holland, 1799
	Corunna, 1809		Corunna, 1809
	Walcheren, —		Walcheren, —
	Peninsula.		Peninsula.
	Waterloo, 1815		N. America, 1814
	Paris, —		Waterloo, 1815
1st Foot (Royals)	West Indies, 1793		Paris, —
4 Battalions.	Toulon, —	5th (Northumb.)	Holland, 1799
	Corfica, 1794	2 Battalions.	Buenos Ayres, 1807
	Ireland, 1798		Portugal, 1808
	Holland, 1799		Corunna, 1809
	Egypt, 1801		Walcheren, —
	West Indies, 1803		Peninsula.
	Corunna, 1809		N. America, 1814
	Walcheren, —		Paris, 1815
	Peninsula.		West Indies, 1793
	Netherlands, 1814	6th (1st Warwick)	Ireland, 1799
	N. America, —	2 Battalions.	Portugal, 1808
	Waterloo, 1815		Corunna, 1809
	Paris, —		Walcheren, —
	India.		Peninsula.
2d (Queen's)	West Indies, 1795		N. America, 1814
	Ireland, 1798		Paris, 1815
	Holland, 1799		St. Helena, —
	Egypt, 1801	7th (R. Fusileers)	West Indies, 1809
	Portugal, 1808	2 Battalions.	Peninsula.
	Corunna, 1809		N. America, 1815
	Walcheren, —		Paris, —
	Peninsula.		Netherlands, 1794
3d (R. Kent, or Old Buffs)	Netherlands, 1794	8th (King's)	West Indies, 1796
2 Battalions.	West Indies, 1796	2 Battalions.	Egypt, 1801
	1801		West Indies, 1809
	Madeira, 1807		Walcheren, —
	Corunna, 1809		N. America, 1814

9th (E. Norfolk) 2 Battalions.	West Indies, 1794 Holland, 1799 Portugal, 1808 Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Peninsula.	1814 1815	Malda, 1806 Portugal, 1808 Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Peninsula. St. Helena.	1793 1796
10th (N. Lincoln) 2 Battalions.	N. America, Netherlands, Paris, 1815 India. Egypt, 1801 Coast of Italy. Catalonia, 1913 Toulon, 1793 Corsica, 1794 West Indies, 1795 Ostend, 1795 West Indies, 1801 Madeira, 1807 Walcheren, 1809 Peninsula.	1814 1815	21st (R.N.B. Fuz.) 2 Battalions. Coast of Italy. Catalonia, 1813 Netherlands, 1814 N. America, Paris, 1815 West Indies, 1794 Isle of France, 1810 West Indies, 1794 Ostend, 1798 Holland, 1799 Egypt, 1801 Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Peninsula.	1793 1796
11th (N. Devon) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands, 1794 West Indies, 1795 India. Isle of France, 1810 Netherlands, 1814 Paris, 1815 West Indies, 1794 Ireland, 1798 Egypt, 1801 West Indies, 1809 N. America, 1814 Paris, 1815 Netherlands, 1793 West Indies, 1796 India. Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Isle of France, 1810 Java, 1811 Waterloo, 1815 Paris,	1794 1795	22d (Cheshire) West Indies, 1794 India. Isle of France, 1810 West Indies, 1794 Ostend, 1798 Holland, 1799 Egypt, 1801 Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Peninsula. West Indies, 1809 Waterloo, 1815 Paris,	1794 1810 1794 1798 1799 1801 1809 1815
12th (E. Suffolk) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands, 1794 West Indies, 1795 India. Isle of France, 1810 Netherlands, 1814 Paris, 1815 West Indies, 1794 Ireland, 1798 Egypt, 1801 West Indies, 1809 N. America, 1814 Paris, 1815 Netherlands, 1793 West Indies, 1796 India. Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Isle of France, 1810 Java, 1811 Waterloo, 1815 Paris,	1794 1795	23d (R. W. Fuz.) 2 Battalions. West Indies, 1794 Ostend, 1798 Holland, 1799 Egypt, 1801 Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Peninsula. West Indies, 1809 Waterloo, 1815 Paris,	1794 1798 1799 1801 1809 1815
13th Lt. Inf. (Somerset)	West Indies, 1794 Ireland, 1798 Egypt, 1801 West Indies, 1809 N. America, 1814 Paris, 1815 Netherlands, 1793 West Indies, 1796 India. Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Isle of France, 1810 Java, 1811 Waterloo, 1815 Paris,	1794 1798	24th (2d Warwick) 2 Battalions. Egypt, 1801 C. Good Hope, 1806 India. Peninsula.	1801 1806
14th (Buckingham) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands, 1793 West Indies, 1796 India. Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Isle of France, 1810 Java, 1811 Waterloo, 1815 Paris,	1793 1796	25th (King's Own Borderers) 2 Battalions. Toulon, 1793 Corsica, 1794 West Indies, 1795 Holland, 1799 Egypt, 1801 West Indies, 1809 Netherlands, 1814 Egypt, 1801 Walcheren, 1809 Corunna, Peninsula. N. America, 1814 Netherlands, 1794 West Indies, 1796 Holland, 1799 Egypt, 1801 Malda, 1806 Catalonia, 1813 Peninsula. N. America, 1814 Waterloo, 1815 Paris,	1793 1794 1795 1799 1801 1809 1814 1801 1809 1814 1801 1809 1814 1794 1796 1799 1801 1806 1813 1814 1815
15th (York E. Rid.) 2 Battalions.	West Indies, 1793 1809 West Indies, 1794 N. America, 1814 Paris, 1815 West Indies, 1796 Holland, 1799 India. Toulon, 1793 Corsica, 1794 Egypt, 1801 West Indies, 1809 Netherlands, 1794 C. Good Hope, 1795 Ceylon, 1803 India.	1793 1809	26th (Cameronians) 2 Battalions. Egypt, 1801 Walcheren, 1809 Corunna, Peninsula. N. America, 1814 Netherlands, 1794 West Indies, 1796 Holland, 1799 Egypt, 1801 Malda, 1806 Catalonia, 1813 Peninsula. N. America, 1814 Waterloo, 1815 Paris,	1801 1809 1814 1794 1796 1799 1801 1806 1813 1814 1815
16th (Bedford)	West Indies, 1794 N. America, 1814 Paris, 1815 West Indies, 1796 Holland, 1799 India. Toulon, 1793 Corsica, 1794 Egypt, 1801 West Indies, 1809 Netherlands, 1794 C. Good Hope, 1795 Ceylon, 1803 India.	1794 1814 1815	27th (Eniskillen) 3 Battalions. Netherlands, 1794 West Indies, 1796 Holland, 1799 Egypt, 1801 Malda, 1806 Catalonia, 1813 Peninsula. N. America, 1814 Waterloo, 1815 Paris,	1796 1799 1801 1806 1813 1814 1815
17th (Leicester) 2 Battalions.	West Indies, 1796 Holland, 1799 India. Toulon, 1793 Corsica, 1794 Egypt, 1801 West Indies, 1809 Netherlands, 1794 C. Good Hope, 1795 Ceylon, 1803 India.	1796 1799	28th (N. Gloucest.) 2 Battalions. Netherlands, 1793 West Indies, 1796 Egypt, 1801 Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Peninsula. Waterloo, 1815 Paris,	1793 1796 1801 1809 1815
18th (Royal Irish) 2 Battalions.	Toulon, 1793 Corsica, 1794 Egypt, 1801 West Indies, 1809 Netherlands, 1794 C. Good Hope, 1795 Ceylon, 1803 India.	1793 1794 1801 1809	29th (E. Devon) West Indies, 1794 Holland, 1799 Egypt, 1801	1794 1799 1801

29th (Worcester) 2 Battalions.	West Indies,	1796	38th (1st Stafford) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands,	1794
	Ireland,	1798		West Indies,	1796
	Holland,	1799		Monte Video,	1806
	Portugal,	1808		Buenos Ayres,	1807
	Peninsula.	—		Portugal,	1808
30th (Cambridge) 2 Battalions.	N. America,	1814	39th (Dorset) 2 Battalions.	Corunna,	1809
	Netherlands,	—		Walcheren,	—
	Paris,	1815		Peninsula.	—
	Toulon,	1793		N. America,	1814
	Corsica,	1794		Paris,	1815
31st (Huntingdon) 2 Battalions.	Ireland,	1798	40th (2d Somerset) 2 Battalions.	West Indies,	1793
	Egypt,	1801		Coast of Italy.	—
	India.	—		Peninsula.	—
	Peninsula.	—		N. America,	1814
	Waterloo,	1815		Paris,	1815
32d (Cornwall) 2 Battalions.	Paris,	—	41st Foot, 2 Battalions.	Netherlands,	1794
	West Indies,	1794		West Indies,	1796
	Holland,	1799		Holland,	1799
	Egypt,	1807		Egypt,	1801
	Peninsula.	—		Monte Video,	1806
33d (1st York W.R.) 2 Battalions.	Coast of Italy.	—	42d (R. Highland.) 2 Battalions.	Buenos Ayres,	1807
	West Indies,	1796		Portugal,	1808
	Portugal,	1808		Peninsula.	—
	Corunna,	1809		Walcheren,	1809
	Walcheren,	—		N. America,	1814
34th (Cumberland) 2 Battalions.	Peninsula.	—	43d L. I. (Monm.) 2 Battalions.	Waterloo,	1815
	N. America,	1814		Paris,	—
	Waterloo,	1815		West Indies,	1793
	Paris,	—		Ireland,	1798
	Netherlands,	1794		N. America,	1812
35th (Sussex) 2 Battalions.	C. Good Hope,	1795	44th (East Essex) 2 Battalions.	Paris,	1815
	India.	—		Netherlands,	1793
	Isle of France,	1810		West Indies,	1796
	Netherlands,	1814		Egypt,	1801
	Waterloo,	1815		Corunna,	1809
36th (Hereford) 2 Battalions.	Paris,	—	45th (Nottingham) 2 Battalions.	Walcheren,	—
	West Indies,	1794		Peninsula.	—
	India.	—		Waterloo,	1815
	Peninsula.	—		Paris,	—
	Netherlands,	1794		West Indies,	1793
37th (N. Hants) 2 Battalions.	Holland,	1799	46th (Nottingham) 2 Battalions.	Buenos Ayres,	1807
	Maida,	1806		Portugal,	1808
	Egypt,	1807		—	—
	Ionian Islands,	1809		—	—
	Walcheren,	—		—	—
38th (Hereford) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands,	1814	47th (Nottingham) 2 Battalions.	N. America,	1814
	Paris,	1815		Netherlands,	—
	Buenos Ayres,	1807		Waterloo,	1815
	Portugal,	1808		Paris,	—
	Corunna,	1809		—	—
39th (Hereford) 2 Battalions.	Peninsula.	—	48th (Nottingham) 2 Battalions.	West Indies,	1793
	Paris,	1815		Buenos Ayres,	1807
	Netherlands,	1793		Portugal,	1808
	West Indies,	1796		—	—
	—	1809		—	—
40th (Hereford) 2 Battalions.	Peninsula.	—	49th (Nottingham) 2 Battalions.	West Indies,	1793
	Netherlands,	1814		Buenos Ayres,	1807
	—	—		Portugal,	1808
	—	—		—	—
	—	—		—	—

	Corunna, 1809	57th (W. Middles.) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands, 1794 West Indies, 1796 Peninsula, 1814 N. America, 1815 Paris, 1816
46th (S. Devon.)	West Indies, 1794 1805		
47th (Lancaster) 2 Battalions.	Monte Video, 1808 Buenos Ayres, 1807 Peninsula. India.	58th (Rutland) 2 Battalions.	West Indies, 1794 Egypt, 1801 Malda, 1806 Coast of Italy. Peninsula. N. America, 1814 Paris, 1815
48th (Northamp.) 2 Battalions.	West Indies, 1794 1796		
49th (Hertford) 2 Battalions.	Peninsula. West Indies, 1793 Ostend, 1798 Holland, 1799 Copenhagen, 1807 N. America, 1812	59th (2d Notting.) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands, 1794 West Indies, 1796 C. Good Hope, 1796 India, Isle of France, 1810 Java, 1811 Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Peninsula. Netherlands, 1816 Paris,
50th (West Kent) 2 Battalions.	Corsica, 1794 Egypt, 1801 Portugal, 1808 Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Peninsula.		
51st R. Lt. In. (2d York W. Rid.)	Corsica, 1794 Ceylon, 1803 Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Peninsula. Waterloo, 1815 Paris,	60th (now Duke of York's Rifle) 9 Battalions.	West Indies, 1793 1796 Ireland, 1798 Portugal, 1808 West Indies, 1809 Peninsula. N. America, 1814 West Indies, 1793 Egypt, 1801 Malda, 1806 Peninsula.
52d L. I. (Oxford) 2 Battalions.	India. Ceylon, 1803 Portugal, 1808 Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Peninsula. Waterloo, 1815 Paris,	61st (S. Gloucest.) 2 Battalions.	West Indies, 1794 Coast of Italy. Walcheren, 1809 Peninsula. N. America, 1814 Paris, 1815
53d (Salop) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands, 1793 West Indies, 1796 India. Peninsula. St. Helena.	62d (Wilts) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands, 1794 West Indies, 1796 Holland, 1799 West Indies, 1809 Walcheren, West Indies, 1810 1815
54th (W. Norfolk) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands, 1794 West Indies, 1795 Ireland, 1798 Egypt, 1801 West Indies, 1809 Netherlands, 1814 Paris, 1815	63d (West Suffolk) 2 Battalions.	West Indies, 1794 Ireland, 1798 West Indies, 1803 1809 N. America, 1814 Paris, 1815
55th (Westmorl.)	Netherlands, 1794 West Indies, 1796 Holland, 1799 Netherlands, 1814 Holland, 1799	64th (2d Stafford)	West Indies, 1794 Ireland, 1798 West Indies, 1803 1809 N. America, 1814 Paris, 1815
56th (West Essex) 2 Battalions.	West Indies, 1794 Holland, 1799 India. Isle Bourbon, 1809 France, 1810 Netherlands, 1814	65th (3d York, North Rid.)	West Indies, 1793 Ceylon, 1803 India. Arabia.
		66th (Berks) 2 Battalions.	West Indies, 1796 Peninsula. India. St. Helena.

67th (S. Hauts) 2 Battalions.	West Indies, 1793 India. Peninsula.	79th (Cam. Highl.) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands, 1793 West Indies, 1795 Holland, 1799 Egypt, 1801 Corunna, 1809 Peninsula. Waterloo, 1815 Paris, —
68th Light Inf. (Durham)	West Indies, 1795 — 1803 Walcheren, 1809 Peninsula.	80th (Staff. Vol.)	Netherlands, 1794 C. Good Hope, 1795 Egypt, 1801 India.
69th (S. Lincoln) 2 Battalions.	Toulon, 1793 Corsica, 1794 West Indies, 1796 Holland, 1799 India. I. of Bourbon, 1809 — France, 1810 Java, 1811 Netherlands, 1814 Waterloo, 1815 Paris, —	81st Foot, 2 Battalions.	C. Good Hope, 1796 Maida, 1806 Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Peninsula. N. America, 1814 Netherlands, Paris, 1815
70th (Surrey)	West Indies, 1794 — 1809 N. America, 1814	82d (P. of W.'s Vs.) 2 Battalions.	West Indies, 1797 Holland, 1799 Portugal, 1808 Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Peninsula. N. America, 1814 Paris, 1815
71st (Highl. L. I.) 2 Battalions.	India. C. Good Hope, 1806 Buenos Ayres, — Portugal, 1808 Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Peninsula. Waterloo, 1815 Paris, —	83d Foot, 2 Battalions.	West Indies, 1795 C. Good Hope, 1806 Peninsula. Ceylon, 1814 Netherlands, 1794 C. Good Hope, 1795 Egypt, 1801 Walcheren, 1809 India. Isle of France, 1810 Peninsula.
72d (D. of Albany's Highlanders)	India. Ceylon, 1795 C. Good Hope, 1806 Monte Video, — India. Ceylon, 1814 Netherlands, Waterloo, 1815 Paris, —	84th (Yk. & Lan.) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands, 1794 C. Good Hope, 1795 Egypt, 1801 Walcheren, 1809 India. Isle of France, 1810 Peninsula.
73d Foot, 2 Battalions.	Ceylon, 1814 Netherlands, Waterloo, 1815 Paris, —	85th R. Lt. In. (Bucks Vol.) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands, 1794 Holland, 1799 Walcheren, 1809 Peninsula. N. America, 1814 Egypt, 1801 C. Good Hope, 1806 I. of Bourbon, 1810
74th —	India. Peninsula.	86th (Royal Down)	Netherlands, 1794 Holland, 1799 Walcheren, 1809 Peninsula. N. America, 1814 Egypt, 1801 India. C. Good Hope, 1806 I. of Bourbon, 1810
75th —	India. Coast of Italy. Catalonia, 1813	87th (Irish Fuzil.) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands, 1794 West Indies, 1796 Monte Video, 1806 Buenos Ayres, 1807 India. Isle of France, 1810 Peninsula.
76th —	India. Corunna, 1809 Walcheren, Peninsula, N. America, 1814	88th (Con. Rang.) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands, 1794 West Indies, 1796 India. Egypt, 1801
77th —	India. Walcheren, 1809 Peninsula.		
78th (Ross. Highl.) 2 Battalions.	Netherlands, 1794 C. Good Hope, 1795 — 1806 Maida, Egypt, 1807 India. Java, 1811 Netherlands, 1814		

89th Foot, 2 Battalions.	Buenos Ayres, 1807	94th (Scotch Brig.) India.	Peninsula.
	Peninsula.	95th (Rifles)	Monte Video, 1806
	Netherlands, 1794	3 Battalions.	Portugal, 1808
	Ireland, 1798		Corunna, 1809
	Egypt, 1801		Peninsula.
90th (Perth Vols.) 2 Battalions.	Malaga, 1810		N. America, 1814
	India.		Waterloo, 1815
	Isle of France, 1810		Paris, —
	Java, 1811	96th,	West Indies, 1809
	N. America, 1813	97th (Q.'s German)	Egypt, 1801
91st (Argyle) 2 Battalions.	Egypt, 1801		Portugal, 1808
	West Indies, 1809		Corunna, 1809
	— 1810		Peninsula.
	Portugal, 1808	98th,	West Indies, 1809
	Corunna, 1809	99th,	N. America, 1814
92d (Gordon Highl.) 2 Battalions.	Walcheren, —	100th,	West Indies, 1798
	Peninsula.	101st,	N. America, 1813
	Ireland, 1798	102d,	N. America, —
	Holland, 1799	103d,	N. America, —
	Egypt, 1801	104th,	N. America, —
93d (Highlanders)	Corunna, 1809	Roy. Artillery,	} Detachments accompanied all the Expeditions.
	Walcheren, —	— Engineers,	
	Peninsula.	— W. Train,	
	Waterloo, 1815	— Staff Corps,	
	Paris, —		
	West Indies, 1798		
	C. Good Hope, 1806		
	N. America, 1814		

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

IN THE CONTEMPORANEOUS CAREER OF NAPOLEON, EMPEROR OF FRANCE, AND ARTHUR, DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

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|---|--|
| <p>NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,
Second son of Charles Bonaparte, a Lawyer.</p> <p>1769 Born (August 15,) at Ajaccio, in Corsica.
Studies in France, at Brienne and Paris.</p> <p>1786 Appointed Second Lieutenant in the Artillery Regt. of La Fère.</p>
<p>1792 Appointed Captain of Artillery.</p> <p>1793 At the head of a French detachment captures Ajaccio, his native town.
Distinguishes himself at Toulon as a Brigadier-General of Artillery.</p> <p>1794 Serves in the French Army of Italy.</p> <p>1795 Appointed a General in the French Army.
Suppresses the Insurrection of Vendemiaire at Paris.
Marries Josephine, widow of Visc. Beauharnois.</p> <p>1796 Appointed to command the French Army in Italy.
Victory of Montenotte.
Dego.
Ceva.
Mondovi.
Lodi.
Castiglione.
Roveredo.
Legnano.
Fonteniva.
Arcole.
Rivoli.
Capture of Milan, Mantua, &c.</p> <p>1797 Enters the Austrian States.
Passage of the Tagliamento.
Conquers Venice and Genoa.
Over-runs the Papal States.
Establishes the Cis-Alpine and Cis-Rhenane Republics.</p> | <p>The Hon. ARTHUR WELLESLEY,
Fourth son of the Earl of Mornington.</p> <p>1769 Born (May 1,) at Dangan Castle, County Meath, in Ireland.
Studies at Eton in England, and at Angers in France.</p>
<p>1787 Appointed Ensign in the 41st Regt. of Foot.</p> <p>1788 ——— Lieutenant in the 12th Light Dragoons.</p> <p>1791 ——— Captain in 58th Regt.</p> <p>1792 ——— Captain in 18th Lt. Drag.</p> <p>1793 ——— Major in 33d Foot.
——— Lieut.-Colonel in Ditto.</p>
<p>1794 Commences his first campaign in the Netherlands.</p> <p>1795 Covers the Retreat of the British Army from Holland, at the head of three Battalions.</p>
<p>1796 At the capture of the Dutch Fleet at the Cape of Good Hope.
Appointed a Colonel in the Army.</p>
<p>1797 Arrives in India.</p> |
|---|--|

NAPOLEON.

- Treaty of Campo Formio.
 1798 Captures Malta.
 Lands in Egypt.
 Captures Alexandria and Rosetta.
 Battle of the Pyramids.
 Captures Grand Cairo.
 1799 Defeats Murad Bey.
 Captures El Arisch.
 Is defeated at Acre, in Syria, by
 Sir Sidney Smith.
 Victory at Aboukir.
 Embarks for France.
 Appointed First Consul of the
 French Republic.
 1800 Passage of Mount St. Bernard.
 Recapture of Milan.
 Victory at Marengo.
 ———— Pozzolo.
 Treaty of Luneville.
 1801 Peace of Amiens.
 1802 Declares himself Mediator of the
 Swiss Cantons.
 Annexes Piedmont, Parma, and
 Placentia to France.
 1804 Becomes Emperor of France.
 1805 ———— King of Italy.
 Declares War against Austria and
 Russia.
 Victory at Ulm.
 Captures Vienna.
 Conquers the Tyrol.
 Victory at Austerlitz.
 Treaty of Presburg.
 1806 Declares his brother Joseph King
 of Naples.
 ———— Louis King of
 Holland.
 Dissolves the Germanic Constitu-
 tion.
 Forms the Confederation of the
 Rhine.
 Declares War against Prussia.
 Victory at Jena.
 Captures Berlin.
 Battle of Pultusk (indecisive).
 1807 Victory at Eylau.
 ———— Friedland.
 Capture of Dantzick.
 ———— Königsberg.
 Peace of Tilsit.

WELLINGTON.

- 1799 Commands the Reserve at the
 Siege of Seringapatam.
 Defeats Tippoo at Mallavelly.
 Assists at the capture of Seringa-
 patam.
 Appointed Governor.
 New-models the conquered King-
 dom of Mysore.
 1800 Defeats Dhoondiah Waugh at Co-
 naghull.
 1803 Appointed Major-General.
 Commands the advanced Division
 in the Mahratta War.
 Re-captures Poonah.
 Captures Amednagur.
 Victory at Assye.
 ———— Argaum.
 Treaty with the Mahrattas.
 1804 Elected a Knight of the Bath.
 1805 Commands a Brigade in Lord
 Cathcart's Army in Germany.
 1806 Takes his Seat in Parliament.
 Appointed Colonel of the 33d.
 Marries Lady C. Pakenham,
 daughter of the Earl of Long-
 ford.
 1807 Appointed Secretary for Ireland.
 ———— Second in Command in
 the Expedition against Copen-
 hagen.
 Victory at Kioge.

NAPOLEON.

- 1808 Sends a Force to occupy Portugal.
Compels the King of Spain to abdicate.
Declares his brother Joseph King of Spain.
—— Murat King of Naples.
Enters Spain.
Victory at Lornosa.
—— Espinosa.
—— Tudela.
Captures Madrid.
- 1809 Declares his brother Jerome King of Westphalia.
—— War against Austria.
Victory at Tan.
—— Eckmuhl.
—— Ebersberg.
Enters Vienna (the second time).
Defeated at Aspern.
Victory at Wagram.
Unites the Papal Territory to France.
Treaty of Vienna.
Divorces the Empress Josephine.
- 1810 Marries Maria Louise, Archduchess of Austria.
Deposes his brother Louis.
Annexes Holland, the Vallais, and Hanse Towns to France.
- 1811 Birth of a Son.
Creates him King of Rome.
- 1812 Enters Russia with an immense Army.
Captures Wilna.
—— Smolensko.
Victory at Ostrowno.
—— Smolensko.
—— Valontina.
Battle of Borodino (indecisive.)

WELLINGTON.

- Assists in the capture of Copenhagen.
Receives the Thanks of Parliament.
- 1808 Appointed to command a Force for the deliverance of Portugal.
Victory over Laborde, at Roleia.
—— Junot, at Vimiera.
The French are compelled to evacuate Portugal.
- 1809 Second Expedition to Portugal.
Passage of the Douro, and Victory over Soult.
Captures Oporto.
Victory at Talavera over King Joseph, Victor, and Sebastiani.
Retreats for want of Provisions.
Created Viscount Wellington.
Receives Thanks of Parliament.
Appointed Captain-General of the Portuguese.
- 1810 Guards the Frontiers of Portugal.
Retreats.
Victory over Massena, at Busaco.
Enters his impregnable Lines of Torres Vedras.
Drives Massena out of Portugal.
Receives the Thanks of Parliament, and a Grant of £100,000.
- 1811 Victory over Victor, at Barrosa.
—— Massena, at Fuentes d'Onoro.
—— Soult, at Albuera.
—— Victor, at Tariffa.
Action at Fuentes Guinaldo.
—— Arroyo del Molino.
Re-capture of Almeida.
Appointed Marshal-General of Portugal.
Created Conde de Vimiera and Marquis of Torres Vedras.
Receives the Thanks of Parliament.
- 1812 Enters Spain the second time.
Captures Badajoz.
—— Ciudad Rodrigo.
—— Salamanca.
—— Madrid.
Victory over Marmont, at Salamanca.

NAPOLEON.

Enters Moscow.
Commences a disastrous Retreat.
Defeats at Polotzk.
——— Sloutzk.
——— Malo-Jaroslavitz.
——— the Wop.
——— Stabna.
——— Liachavo.
——— Smolnya.
——— the Berezina.
His Army is nearly annihilated.

- 1813 Invades Germany.
Victory at Lutzen.
——— Bautzen.
——— Dresden.
Defeats at Jauer.
——— the Katzbach.
——— Kulm.
——— Gros-Beren.
——— Jutterboch.
——— Peterswalde.
——— Gorde.
——— Leipsig.
——— Hanau.
- 1814 Resists the Invasion of France.
Victory at Brienne.
——— Montmirail.
——— Vauchamp.
——— Nangis.
——— Montereau.
——— Craonne.
Defeats at Bar-sur-Aube.
——— Rothiere.
——— Laon.
——— Bar-sur-Aube (2d).
——— Arcis-sur-Aube.
——— Lyons.
——— Belleville and Pantin.
Surrender of Paris.
Abdicates the Throne of France.
Becomes Emperor of Elba.
- 1816 Returns from Elba.
Enters Paris after a triumphal progress.
Holds the *Champ-de-Mai*.
Advances to the Netherlands.
Captures Charleroi.
Victory at Ligny.

WELLINGTON.

- Compels the French to raise the siege of Cadiz.
Repulsed at the Castle of Burgos.
Fine Retreat to the Frontiers of Portugal.
Created Earl and Marquis of Wellington.
Elected a Knight of the Garter.
Receives the Thanks of Parliament, with a Grant of £100,000.
Appointed Colonel of the Horse Guards.
Created Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo and Vittoria.
- 1813 Enters Spain the third time.
Victory over Joseph and Jourdan at Vittoria.
First Victory of the Pyrenees, over Soult.
Second Victory ————
Third Victory ————
Capture of St. Sebastian's.
Passes the Bidassoa, and plants the British Standard in France.
Captures Pampeluna.
Appointed Captain-General of the Spanish Army.
Passage of the Nive and Nivelle.
Bayonne invested.
Appointed a Field-Marshal of Great Britain.
Receives a congratulatory Letter from the Prince Regent.
- 1814 Brilliant Passage of the Adour.
Capture of Bordeaux.
Victory at Orthes.
——— Toulouse.
Created Duke of Wellington and Marquis of Douro.
Receives a Grant from Parliament of £300,000.
Received at Paris with distinguished honours.
Arrives at Madrid.
Appointed a Knight of the Golden Fleece.
——— Capt.-General of Spain.
Arrives in England.
Receives in Person the Thanks of Parliament.
Appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the French Court.
- 1815 Appointed to command the British Army in Flanders.
Victory over Ney at Quatre Bras.]
——— Napoleon at WATER-
LOO.
Advances to Paris.
Capture of Cambray.

NAPOLEON.

Defeat at Quatre Bras.
 ——— Waterloo.
 Returns to Paris.
 Abdicates the Government.
 Repairs to Rochfort.
 Surrenders to an English Man of War.
 Arrives in a British Port.
 Transported to St. Helena.
 1821 Dies at St. Helena.

WELLINGTON.

Capture of Peronne.
 ——— Paris.
 Created Prince of Waterloo.
 Appointed Generalissimo of the Army of Occupation.
 Definitive Treaty of Paris.
 Receives Thanks of Parliament, with a Grant of £200,000.

1826 Appointed Master-General of the Ordnance.
 1827 ——— Commander-in-Chief of the British Army.
 ——— Colonel of the Grenadier Guards.

SUMMARY.

NAPOLEON,

In Sixteen Campaigns,

Gains Victories	-	-	41
Captures strong Towns that stood	-	-	6
Sieges	-	-	12
Enters Capitals	-	-	9
Subjugates the Continent of Europe.	-	-	3
Creates new Sovereigns	-	-	1
Makes Retreats	-	-	28
Raises Sieges	-	-	
Suffers Defeats	-	-	
Obtains and loses an Empire.			
Dies a Prisoner.			

WELLINGTON,

In Thirteen Campaigns,

Gains Victories	-	-	28
Captures strong Towns that stood	-	-	11
Sieges	-	-	6
Enters Capitals	-	-	
Makes Retreats	-	-	3
Raises Sieges	-	-	2
Suffers Defeats	-	-	0
Delivers Spain and Portugal.			
Conquers the Conqueror.			
Is the chief instrument in restoring the French Monarchy, and giving Peace to Europe.			
Obtains a Princedom, three Dukedoms, three Marquises, two Earldoms, the dignities of a Viscount and Baron, the highest Military Rank, and the Military Orders of all the Sovereigns of Europe.			

GENERAL TREATY WITH FRANCE.

THE Allied Powers having, by their exertions, and the triumph of their arms, preserved France and Europe from the convulsions with which they were threatened by the late enterprise of Napoleon Bonaparte, and by the revolutionary system reproduced in France for its support; as they now participate with his most Christian Majesty in the wish, by the inviolable maintenance of the royal dignity, and by restoring the validity of the constitutional charter, to confirm the order happily re-established in France, and to bring back between France and its neighbours those relations, founded upon reciprocal confidence and good will, which the mournful consequences of the revolution and system of conquest had so long interrupted; and as they are convinced that their last object cannot be attained, except by an arrangement calculated to give them just indemnity for the past, and solid security for the future—they have, therefore, in common with his Majesty the King of France, deliberated on the means of bringing about such an arrangement; and as they have convinced themselves that the indemnity due to the powers cannot consist wholly either in cessions of territory or in pecuniary payments, without greatly injuring the essential interests of France in one way or the other, and that it is better so to unite them as to avoid both disadvantages—Their Imperial and Royal Majesties have therefore taken this as the basis of the present negotiations, and have also agreed upon it as a basis, that it is necessary, during a certain time, to keep the frontier provinces of France occupied by a certain number of the allied troops; and have agreed to unite in a definitive treaty the several dispositions founded upon these bases. In this view, and to this end, his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland, for himself and his allies, on one side, and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre, on the other side, have appointed for their plenipotentiaries to discuss, agree on, and sign the definitive treaty;—(here are the names and designations of the Ministers) their full powers having been exchanged and found in due order, have signed the following articles:—

Art. I.—The frontiers of France remain as they were in 1790, with the exception of the reciprocal modifications in this article.

1. In the North the frontier line remains as it was fixed in the treaty of Paris, till opposite Queverain, thence it goes along the ancient frontiers of the Belgic provinces, of the former bishopric of Liege, and of the duchy of Bouillon, as they were in 1790, so that the territories of Marienburgh and Philippville, with the fortresses of the same name, and the whole duchy of Bouillon, remain without the French frontiers. From Villers, by Orval, on the frontiers of the department of the Ardennes, and the duchy of Luxembourg, as far as Perle, on the road leading from Thionville to Treves, the frontier line remains as it was fixed in the treaty of Paris. From Perle it goes over Launsdorf, Wallwich, Schardorf, Niedervelling, Pelloweller, which places, with their banlieus, all remain to France; to Houvre and along the old frontiers of the district of Saarbruck, so that Saarlouis, and the course of the Saar, with the places on the right of the above-mentioned line, with their banlieus, will come without the French frontiers. From the frontiers of the district of Saarbruck the frontier line shall be the same which now separates the departments of the Lower Rhine

from Germany, as far as to the boundary, to its junction with the Rhine, the whole of the territory lying on the left bank of the Lauter, including the fortresses of Landau, shall belong to Germany. The town of Weissemburg, however, which is intersected by this river, remains wholly to France, with a rayon on the left bank; this rayon must not exceed 1,000 toises, and will be more particularly determined by the commissioners who will hereafter be appointed to regulate the frontiers.

2. From the mouth of the Lauter along the departments of the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, the Doubs, and the Jura, as far as the canton of Vaud, the frontiers remain as they are fixed in the treaty of Paris. The Thalweg of the Rhine shall be the line of separation between France and the German states, but the property of the island, as it will be determined in consequence of a new examination of the course of that river, shall remain unchanged, whatever alterations the course of the river may in time undergo. Commissioners shall be appointed within three months by the high contracting powers, on both sides, in order to make the said examination. The half of the bridge between Strasburg and Kehl shall belong to France, and the other half to the grand duchy of Baden.

3. To restore a direct communication between the canton of Geneva and Switzerland, that part of the territory of Gex which is bounded on the east by the Lake of Geneva, on the south by the territory of the canton of Geneva, on the north by the canton of Vaud, and on the west by the course of the Versoix, and a line which comprehends the communes of Collex Bossy, and Meyrin, but leaves the commune of Ferney to France, is ceded to the Swiss Confederation, and united with the canton of Geneva.

4. From the frontier of the canton of Geneva to the Mediterranean, the frontier line is the same as that which, in 1790, separated France from Savoy and the county of Nice. The relations which the treaty of 1814 had re-established between France and the principality of Monaco, shall for ever cease, and the same relations take place between that principality and the kingdom of Sardinia.

5. All territories and districts included within the frontier of France, as fixed by the present article, remain united to France.

6. The contracting powers shall appoint, within three months after the signature of the present treaty, commissioners to regulate every thing respecting the fixing of the frontiers on both sides, and as soon as those commissioners have finished their labours, maps shall be made, and frontier posts set up, to mark the respective boundaries.

Art. II.—The fortresses and territories which, by the preceding article, are no longer to belong to the French territory, will be given up to the allied powers, in the period specified in the military convention, annexed to the ninth article of the present treaty; and his Majesty the King of France renounces for ever, for himself, his heirs, and successors, the rights of sovereignty and property which he has hitherto exercised over the said fortresses and territories.

Art. III.—As the fortifications of Huningue have always been a ground of uneasiness to the city of Basle, the high contracting powers, to give to Switzerland a fresh proof of their care and good will, have agreed, among themselves, to have the fortifications of Huningue razed, and the French government engages, for the same reasons, never to repair them, and not to erect any other fortifications within three leagues of the city of Basle.

The neutrality of Switzerland shall be extended to that piece of territory which lies north of a line to be drawn from Ugine, that place included, on the south of the Lake of Annecy, over Faverges (in the Bremen Gazette, *Ta Verve*), to Lecheroine, and from thence to the Lake of Bourget and the Rhone, in the same manner as is fixed by the twenty-second article of the final act of the congress of Vienna, in respect to the province of Chablais and Faucigny.

The troops, therefore, which the King of Sardinia may have in these provinces, whenever the powers adjacent to Switzerland are in a state of open hostility, or are on the eve of such a state, shall retire, and may for that purpose take, in case of need,

the way over the Vallais ; but no armed troops of any other power can pass through, or be stationed in, the above provinces, except such as Switzerland thinks fit to send thither ; but this state of things must not hinder the administration of these countries, as the civil officers of the King of Sardinia may employ the municipal guard for the maintenance of good order.

Art. IV.—That part of the indemnity to be given by France to the allied powers, which consists in money, is fixed at the sum of seven hundred millions of francs. The manner, the periods, and the securities, of the payment of this sum, shall be regulated by a separate convention, which shall be equally valid and binding as if they were inserted word for word in the present treaty.

Art. V.—As the state of confusion and fermentation which France necessarily feels after so many violent convulsions, and particularly after the late catastrophe, notwithstanding the paternal intentions of the king, and the advantages which all classes of the subjects necessarily derive from the constitutional charter, makes some measures of precaution and temporary guarantee necessary, for the security of the neighbouring states, it has been considered as absolutely requisite to occupy, for a fixed time, positions along the frontiers of France, by a corps of allied troops, under the express reservation that this occupation shall not infringe on the sovereignty of his most Christian Majesty, nor on the state of possession, as fixed by this treaty ; the number of troops shall not exceed 150,000 : the commander-in-chief is named by the allied powers. This army will occupy Condé, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambray, Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroy, Givet, with Charlemont, Mezieres, Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, Longwy, Bitsch, and the tête de pont of Fort Louis. As France is to provide for the maintenance of this army, every thing relative to this object shall be regulated in a separate convention. In this convention, which shall be as valid as if inserted word for word in this treaty, the relations shall be fixed between the occupying army, and the civil and military authorities of the country. This military occupation cannot last above five years, and may end before that period, if the allied sovereigns, after an expiration of three years, and after they have first, in agreement with the King of France, maturely weighed the situation and mutual interests, as well as the progress which the re-establishment of order and peace may have made in France, shall recognize in common that the motives which induced this measure no longer exist. But whatever may be the result of this deliberation, all the places and positions occupied by the allied troops will, at the expiration of five years, be evacuated without further delay, and given up to his most Christian Majesty, or his heirs and successors.

Art. VI.—All the other foreign troops, not belonging to the army of occupation, shall quit the French territory in the periods fixed in the military convention annexed to the ninth article of the present treaty.

Art. VII.—In all countries which shall change sovereigns, as well in virtue of the present treaty, as of the arrangements which are to be made in consequence thereof, a period of six years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications shall be allowed to the inhabitants, natives, or foreigners, of whatever condition and nation they may be, to dispose of their property, if they should think fit so to do, and retire to whatever country they may choose.

Art. VIII.—All the dispositions of the Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, relative to the countries ceded by that treaty, shall equally apply to the several territories and districts ceded by the present treaty.

Art. IX.—The high contracting parties having caused representation to be made of the different claims arising out of the non-execution of the nineteenth, and following articles of the treaty of the 30th of May, 1814, as well as of the additional articles of that treaty signed between Great Britain and France, desiring to render more efficacious the stipulations made thereby, and having determined by two separate conventions, the line to be pursued on each side for that purpose, the said two conventions, as annexed to the present treaty, shall, in order to secure complete execution of the above-mentioned articles, have the same force and effect as if the same were inserted word for word herein.

Art. X.—All prisoners taken during the hostilities, as well as all hostages which may have been carried off or given, shall be restored in the shortest time possible. The same shall be the case with respect to the prisoners taken previously to the treaty of the 30th of May, 1814, and who shall not already have been restored.

Art. XI.—The treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the final act of the Congress of Vienna, of the 9th of June, 1815, are confirmed, and shall be maintained in all such of their enactments which shall not have been modified by the articles of the present treaty.

Art. XII.—The present treaty, with the conventions annexed thereto, shall be ratified in one act, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the space of two months, or sooner, if possible. In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris, this 20th day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1815.

(Signed)

(L.S.) CASTLEREAGH.
(L.S.) WELLINGTON.
(L.S.) RICHELIEU.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

The high contracting powers, sincerely desiring to give effect to the measures on which they deliberated at the Congress of Vienna, relative to the complete and universal abolition of the Slave Trade, and having, each in their respective dominions, prohibited without restriction their colonies and subjects from taking any part whatever in this traffic, engage to renew conjointly their efforts, with the view of securing final success to those principles which they proclaimed in the declaration of the 4th of February, 1815, and of concerting, without loss of time, through their ministers at the courts of London and Paris, the most effectual measures for the entire and definitive abolition of a commerce so odious, and so strongly condemned by the laws of religion and of nature. The present additional article shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted, word for word, in the treaty signed this day. It shall be included in the ratification of the said treaty. In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.*

Done at Paris this 20th day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1815.

(Signed)

(L.S.) CASTLEREAGH.
(L.S.) WELLINGTON.
(L.S.) RICHELIEU.

* DECLARATION

Of the Plenipotentiaries of the Allied Sovereigns, regarding the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

The plenipotentiaries of the powers who signed the Treaty of Paris, of the 30th

SEPARATE ARTICLE SIGNED WITH RUSSIA ALONE.

In the execution of the additional article of the 30th of May, 1814, his most Christian Majesty engages to send, without delay, to Warsaw, one or more commissioners, to concur in his name, according to the terms of the said article, in the examination and liquidation of the reciprocal claims of France and the late duchy of Warsaw, and in all the arrangements relative to them. His most Christian Majesty

of May, 1814, met in conference, having taken into consideration that the commerce, known by the name of the African Slave Trade, has been viewed by just and enlightened men in all ages, as repugnant to principles of humanity and universal morality; that the particular circumstances to which that commerce owed its birth, and the difficulty of suddenly interrupting its course, served to cover to a certain extent the odiousness of its continuance; but that the public voice has at length been raised in every civilized country, demanding that it should be suppressed as soon as possible; that since the character and the details of this commerce have been better known, and the evils of every kind which accompany it completely unveiled, several European Governments have adopted the resolution of putting a stop to it; and that successively all the powers possessing colonies in the different parts of the world, have recognized, either by legislative acts, or by treaties and other formal engagements, the obligation and the necessity of abolishing it; that by a separate article of the last Treaty of Paris, Great Britain and France engaged to join their efforts at the congress of Vienna to cause to be pronounced by all the powers of Christendom the universal and definitive abolition of the Slave Trade; that the plenipotentiaries assembled in the congress could not more honour their mission, fulfil their duty, and manifest the principles which guide their august Sovereigns, than in laboursing to realize that engagement, and in proclaiming, in the name of their Sovereigns, the desire of putting a termination to a scourge which has so long tortured Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity: the said plenipotentiaries have agreed to open their deliberations as to the means of accomplishing this grand and useful object, by a solemn declaration of the principles which have directed them in that undertaking. In consequence, and duly authorized by this act of unanimous adhesion of their respective courts to the principle announced in the said separate article of the Treaty of Paris, they declare in the face of Europe, that, regarding the universal abolition of the Trade in Negroes, as a measure particularly worthy of their attention, conformable to the spirit of the age, and the generous principles of their august Sovereigns, they are animated with the sincere desire of concurring in the most prompt and efficacious execution of this measure by all the means in their power, and to act in the employment of these means with all the zeal and all the perseverance which they owe to so great and so good a cause.

Too well acquainted, however, with the sentiments of their respective Sovereigns, not to foresee, that however honourable their object, they will not pursue it without a just regard for the interests, the habits, and even the prejudices of their subjects; the said plenipotentiaries recognizing, at the same time, that this general declaration shall not prejudice the term which each particular power may view as the most agreeable for the definitive abolition of the Negro Trade. Consequently, the determination of the epoch when this commerce is to cease universally, shall be an object of negotiation between the powers; understanding always, that no proper means shall be neglected of assuring and accelerating its march, and that the reciprocal engagement contracted by the present declaration between the Sovereigns who are parties to it, shall not be considered as fulfilled till the moment when complete success shall have crowned their united efforts. In publishing this declaration to all Europe, and all the civilized nations of the earth, the said plenipotentiaries flatter themselves that they will induce all other governments, and especially those who, in abolishing the Negro Slave Trade, manifested the same sentiments, to support them with their suffrage, in a cause of which the final triumph will be one of the fairest monuments of the age which shall have embraced it, and brought it to a glorious termination.

Vienna, February 4, 1815.

recognizes, in respect to the Emperor of Russia, in his quality of King of Poland, the nullity of the convention of Bayonne, well understood that this disposition cannot receive any application but conformably to the principles established in the convention mentioned in the ninth article of the treaty of this day. The present separate article has the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of this day. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time. In testimony whereof the plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed to it the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 20th of November, year of grace, 1815.

[The Signatures.]

TREATY OF ALLIANCE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND
THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

Signed at Paris, the 20th of November, 1815.

IN the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.—The purpose of the alliance concluded at Vienna, the 25th day of March, 1815, having been happily attained by the re-establishment in France of the order of things which the last criminal attempt of Napoleon Bonaparte had momentarily subverted; their Majesties the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the King of Prussia, considering that the repose of Europe is essentially interwoven with the confirmation of the order of things founded on the maintenance of the royal authority, and of the constitutional charter, and wishing to employ all their means to prevent the general tranquillity (the object of the wishes of mankind, and the constant end of their efforts) from being again disturbed; desirous moreover to draw closer the ties which unite them for the common interests of their people, have resolved to give to the principles solemnly laid down in the treaties of Chaumont of the 1st of March, 1814, and of Vienna, of the 25th of March, 1815, the application the most analogous to the present state of affairs, and to fix beforehand by a solemn treaty the principles which they propose to follow, in order to guarantee Europe from the dangers by which she may still be menaced; for which purpose the high contracting parties have named to discuss, settle, and sign the conditions of this treaty, namely—[Here follow the names and titles of the plenipotentiaries, viz. Lord Castlereagh, Duke of Wellington, Prince of Metternich, and Baron of Wessenburg]—who, after having exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. I.—The high contracting parties reciprocally promise to maintain, in its force and vigour, the treaty signed this day with his most Christian Majesty, and to see that the stipulations of the said treaty, as well as those of the particular conventions which have reference thereto, shall be strictly and faithfully executed in their fullest extent.

Art. II.—The high contracting parties, having engaged in the war which is just terminated, for the purpose of maintaining inviolable the arrangements settled at Paris last year, for the safety and interest of Europe, have judged it advisable to renew the said engagements by the present act, and to confirm them as mutually obligatory, subject to the modifications contained in the treaty signed this day with the plenipotentiaries of his most Christian Majesty, and particularly those by which Napoleon Bonaparte and his family, in pursuance of the treaty of the 11th of April, 1814, have been for ever excluded from supreme power in France, which exclusion the contracting powers bind themselves, by the present act, to maintain in full vi-

gour, and, should it be necessary, with the whole of their forces. And as the same revolutionary principles which upheld the last criminal usurpation, might again, under other forms, convulse France, and thereby endanger the repose of other states; under these circumstances, the high contracting parties, solemnly admitting it to be their duty to redouble their watchfulness for the tranquillity and interests of their people, engage, in case so unfortunate an event should again occur, to concert among themselves, and with his most Christian Majesty, the measures which they may judge necessary to be pursued for the safety of their respective states, and for the general tranquillity of Europe.

Art. III.—The high contracting parties, in agreeing with his most Christian Majesty that a line of military position in France should be occupied by a corps of the allied troops during a certain number of years, had in view to secure, as far as lay in their power, the effect of the stipulations contained in articles one and two of the present treaty, and uniformly disposed to adopt every salutary measure calculated to secure the tranquillity of Europe, by maintaining the order of things re-established in France, they engage, that in case the said body of troops should be attacked, or menaced with an attack, on the part of France, that the said powers should be again obliged to place themselves on a war establishment against that power, in order to maintain either of the said stipulations, or to secure and support the great interest to which they relate, each of the high contracting parties shall furnish, without delay, according to the stipulations of the treaty of Chaumont, and especially in pursuance of the seventh and eighth articles of this treaty, its full contingent of sixty thousand men, in addition to the forces left in France, or such part of the said contingent as the exigency of the case may require should be put in motion.

Art. IV.—If, unfortunately, the forces stipulated in the preceding article should be found insufficient, the high contracting parties will concert together, without loss of time, as to the additional number of troops to be furnished by each for the support of the common cause; and they engage to employ, in case of need, the whole of their forces, in order to bring the war to a speedy and successful termination, reserving to themselves the right to prescribe, by common consent, such conditions of peace as shall hold out to Europe a sufficient guarantee against the recurrence of a similar calamity.

Art. V.—The high contracting parties having agreed to the dispositions laid down in the preceding articles, for the purpose of securing the effect of their engagements during the period of the temporary occupation, declare, moreover, that even after the expiration of this measure, the said engagements shall still remain in full force and vigour, for the purpose of carrying into effect such measures as may be deemed necessary for the maintenance of the stipulations contained in the articles one and two of the present act.

Art. VI.—To facilitate and to secure the execution of the present treaty, and to consolidate the connections which at the present moment so closely unite the four Sovereigns for the happiness of the world, the high contracting parties have agreed to renew their meeting at fixed periods, either under the immediate auspices of the sovereigns themselves, or by their respective Ministers, for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests, and for the consideration of the measures which at each of those periods shall be considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations, and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe.

Art. VII.—The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged within two months, or sooner, if possible.—In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed it, and fixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 20th of November, A. D. 1815.

(Signed)

(L.S.) CASTLEBROUGH.
(L.S.) WELLINGTON.
(L.S.) METTENICH.
(L.S.) WESSENBURG.

NOTE.—Similar treaties were signed on the same day by the plenipotentiaries of his Majesty, with those of the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, respectively.

GENERAL TREATY,

SIGNED IN CONGRESS AT VIENNA, JUNE 9TH, 1815.

IN the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.—The powers who signed the treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of May, 1814, having assembled at Vienna, in pursuance of the thirty-second article of that act, with the princes and states their allies, to complete the provisions of the said treaty, and to add to them the arrangements rendered necessary by the state in which Europe was left at the termination of the last war, being now desirous to embrace in one common transaction the various results of their negotiations, for the purpose of confirming them by their reciprocal ratifications, have authorised their plenipotentiaries to unite in a general instrument the regulations of superior and permanent interest, and to join to that act, as integral parts of the arrangements of congress, the treaties, conventions, declarations, regulations, and other particular acts, as cited in the present treaty. And the above-mentioned powers having appointed plenipotentiaries to the congress, that is to say—

[Here follow the names of the plenipotentiaries, in the same order as the signatures at the end.]

Such of the above plenipotentiaries as have assisted at the close of the negotiations, after having produced their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed to place in the said general instrument the following articles, and to affix to them their signatures.

Art. I.—The duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the provinces and districts which are otherwise disposed of by the following articles, is united to the Russian empire, to which it shall be irrevocably attached by its constitution, and be possessed by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, his heirs and successors in perpetuity. His Imperial Majesty reserves to himself to give to this state, enjoying a distinct administration, the interior improvements which he shall judge proper. He shall assume with his other titles that of Czar, King of Poland, agreeably to the form established for the titles attached to his other possessions.

The Poles, who are respective subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, shall obtain a representation and national institutions, regulated according to the degree of political consideration, that each of the governments to which they belong shall judge expedient and proper to grant them.

Art. II.—The part of the duchy of Warsaw which his Majesty the King of Prussia shall possess in full sovereignty and property, for himself, his heirs, and successors, under the title of the grand duchy of Posen, shall be comprised within the following line:—

Proceeding from the frontier of Eastern Prussia to the village of Nemhoff, the new limit shall follow the frontier of Western Prussia, such as it subsisted from 1772 to the peace of Tilsit, to the village of Leibitz, which shall belong to the duchy of Warsaw; from thence shall be drawn a line, which, leaving Kompania, Grabowice, and Szczytno to Prussia, passes the Vistula near the last-mentioned place, from the other side of the river, which falls into the Vistula opposite Szczytno, to the ancient limit of the district of the Netze, near Gross Opoczko, so that Sluzewo shall belong to the duchy, and Przyranowa, Hollander, and Maciejewo, to Prussia. From Gross Opoczko it shall pass by Chlewska, which shall remain to Prussia, to the village of

Przybelaw, and from thence by the villages of Piaski, Chelmce, Witowiczki, Kobylina, Woyczyn, Orchowa, to the town of Powidz. From Powidz it shall continue by the town of Slupce to the point of confluence of the rivers Wartha and Prosna. From this point it shall re-ascend the course of the river Prosna to the village of Koscielnawels, to within one league of the town of Kalisch. Then leaving to that town (on the side of the left bank of the Prosna) a semi-circular territory measured upon the distance from Koscielnawels to Kalisch, the line shall return to the course of the Prosna, and shall continue to follow it, re-ascending by the towns of Grabow, Wieruszow, Boleslawiec, so as to terminate near the village of Gola, upon the frontier of Silesia opposite Pitschin.

Art. III.—His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty shall possess, in full property and sovereignty, the salt mines of Wieliczka, and the territory thereto belonging.

Art. IV.—The way or bed of the Vistula shall separate Gallicia from the territory of the free town of Cracow. It shall serve at the same time as the frontier between Gallicia and that part of the ancient duchy of Warsaw united to the states of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, as far as the vicinity of the town of Zawichost. From Zawichost to the Bug, the dry frontier shall be determined by the line drawn in the Treaty of Vienna of 1809, excepting such modifications as by common consent may be thought necessary to be introduced. The frontier from the Bug shall be re-established on this side between the two empires, such as it was before the said treaty.

Art. V.—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias cedes to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty the districts which have been separated from Eastern Gallicia in consequence of the Treaty of Vienna of 1809, from the circles of Zloczow, Brzesan, Tarnopole, and Zaleszcz; and the frontiers on this side shall be re-established such as they were before the date of the said treaty.

Art. VI.—The town of Cracow, with its territory, is declared for ever to be a free, independent, and strictly neutral city, under the protection of Austria, Russia, and Prussia.

Art. VII.—The territory of the free town of Cracow shall have for its frontier upon the left bank of the Vistula, a line, which, beginning at the spot near the village of Wolica, where a stream falls into the Vistula, shall ascend this stream by Clo and Koscielniki, as far as Czulice, so that these villages may be included in the district of the free town of Cracow; from thence passing along the frontiers of these villages, the line shall continue by Dziekanowice, Garlice, Tomaszow, Karniowice, which shall also remain in the territory of Cracow, to the point where the limit begins which separates the district of Krzeszowice from that of Olkusz; from thence it shall follow this limit between the two said provinces, till it reaches the frontiers of Silesian Prussia.

Art. VIII.—His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, wishing particularly to facilitate, as much as possible on his part, the commercial relations and good neighbourhood between Gallicia and the free towns of Cracow, grants for ever to the town of Podgorze the privileges of a free commercial town, such as are enjoyed by the town of Brody. This liberty of commerce shall extend to a distance of five hundred toises from the barrier of the suburbs of the town of Podgorze. In consequence of this perpetual concession, which, nevertheless, shall not affect the rights of sovereignty of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, the Austrian custom-houses shall be

established only in places situated beyond that limit. No military establishment shall be formed that can menace the neutrality of Cracow, or obstruct the liberty of commerce which his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty grants to the town and district of Podgorze.

Art. IX.—The courts of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, engage to respect, and to cause to be always respected, the neutrality of the free town of Cracow and its territory. No armed force shall be introduced upon any pretence whatever. On the other hand it is understood, and expressly stipulated, that no asylum shall be afforded in the free town and territory of Cracow, to fugitives, deserters, and persons under prosecution, belonging to the country of either of the high powers aforesaid; and in the event of the demand of their surrender by the competent authorities, such individuals shall be arrested and given up without delay, and conveyed, under a proper escort, to the guard appointed to receive them at the frontier.

Art. X.—The dispositions of the constitution of the free towns of Cracow, concerning the academy, the bishopric and chapter of that town, such as they are specified in the seventh, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth articles of the additional treaty relative to Cracow, which is annexed to the present general treaty, shall have the same force and validity as if they were textually inserted in this act.

Art. XI.—A full, general, and special amnesty shall be granted in favour of all individuals, of whatever rank, sex, or condition they may be.

Art. XII.—In consequence of the preceding article, no person in future shall be prosecuted or disturbed, in any manner, by reason of any participation, direct or indirect, at any time, in the political, civil, or military events in Poland. All proceedings, suits, or prosecutions, are considered as null, the sequestrations and provisional confiscations shall be taken off, and every act promulgated on this ground shall be of no effect.

Art. XIII.—From these general regulations on the subject of confiscations are excepted all those cases in which edicts or sentences, finally pronounced, have already been fully executed, and have not been annulled by subsequent events.

Art. XIV.—The principles established for the free navigation of rivers and canals, in the whole extent of ancient Poland, as well as for the trade to the ports, for the circulation of articles the growth and produce of the different Polish provinces, and for the commerce, relative to goods in transitu, such as they are specified in the twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth articles of the treaty between Austria and Russia, and in the twenty-second, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth articles of the treaty between Russia and Prussia, shall be invariably maintained.

Art. XV.—His Majesty the King of Saxony renounces in perpetuity, for himself, and all his descendants and successors, in favour of his Majesty the King of Prussia, all his right and title to the provinces, districts, and territories, or parts of territories, of the kingdom of Saxony, hereafter named; and his Majesty the King of Prussia shall possess those countries in complete sovereignty and property, and shall unite them to his monarchy. The districts and territories thus ceded, shall be separated from the rest of the kingdom of Saxony by a line, which henceforth shall form the frontier between the Prussian and Saxon territories, so that all that is comprised in the limit formed by this line, shall be restored to his Majesty the King of Saxony; but his Majesty renounces all those districts and territories that are situated beyond that line, and which belonged to him before the war.

The line shall begin from the frontiers of Bohemia near Wisse, in the neighbourhood of Seidenberg, following the stream of the river Wittich, until its junction with the Neisse. From the Neisse it shall pass to the circle of Eigen, between Tauchritz, which shall belong to Prussia, and Bortschoff, which shall remain to Saxony; then it shall follow the northern frontier of the circle of Eigen to the angle between Pulsdorf and Ober-Schland; thence it shall be continued to the limits that separate the circle of Gorlitz from that of Bautzen, in such a manner that Ober-Mettel and Neider-Schland-Ollich, and Radewitz, remain in the possession of Saxony. The great post-road between Gorlitz and Bautzen shall belong to Prussia, as far as the limits of the said circles. Then the line shall follow the frontier of the circle to Dubraucke; it shall then extend upon the heights to the right of the Lobaner-Wasser, so that this rivulet, with its two banks, and the places upon them, as far as Neudorf, shall remain, with this village, to Saxony. The line shall then fall again upon the Spree, and the Schwarz-Wasser, Liska, Hermadorf, Ketten, and Solahdorf, are assigned to Prussia. From the Schwarze-Elster, near Solchdorf, a right line shall be drawn to the frontier of the lordship of Königsbruck, near Grossgrabchen. This lordship remains to Saxony, and the line shall follow its northern boundary as far as the bailiwick of Grossenhayn, in the neighbourhood of Ortrand; Ortrand, and the road from that place by Merzdorf, Stolzenhayn, and Grobels, to Muhlberg, (with the villages on that road, so that no part of it remain beyond the Prussian territory,) shall be under the government of Prussia. The frontier from Grobels shall be traced to the Elbe near Fichtenberg, and then shall follow the bailiwick of Muhlberg. Fichtenberg shall be the property of Prussia. From the Elbe to the frontier of the country of Merseburg, it shall be so regulated that the bailiwicks of Torgau, Eilenburg, and Delitzsch, shall pass to Prussia, while those of Oschatz, Wurzen, and Leipzig, shall remain to Saxony. The line shall follow the frontier of these bailiwicks, dividing some inclosures and demi-inclosures. The road from Muhlberg to Eilenburg shall be wholly within the Prussian territory. From Podelwitz (belonging to the bailiwick of Leipzig, and remaining to Saxony) as far as Eytra, which also remains to her, the line shall divide the country of Merseburg in such a manner that Breitenfeld, Haenichen, Gross, and Klein-Dolz, Mark-Ranstadt, and Knaut-Nauendorf, remain to Saxony; and Modelwitz, Skeuditz, Klein-Liebenau, Alt Ranstadt, Schkolen, and Zietachen, pass to Prussia. From thence the line shall divide the bailiwick of Pegau, between the Floss-graben, and the Weisse-Elster; the former, from the point where it separates itself above the town of Cossen (which forms part of the bailiwick of Haynsburg) from the Weisse-Elster, to the point where it joins the Saale below the town of Merseburg, shall belong, in its whole course between those two towns, with both its banks, to the Prussian territory. From thence, where the frontier touches upon that of the country of Zeitz, the line shall follow it as far as the boundary of the country of Altenburg, near Luckau. The frontier of the circle of Neustadt, which wholly falls under the dominion of Prussia, remains untouched. The inclosures of Voigtland, in the district of Reuss, that is to say, Gefall, Blintendorf, Sparenberg, and Blankenburg, are comprised in the share of Prussia.

Art. XVI.—The provinces and districts of the kingdom of Saxony, which are transferred to the dominion of his Majesty the King of Prussia, shall be distinguished by the name of the duchy of Saxony, and his Majesty shall add to his titles those of Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of the two Lusatias, and Count of Henneberg. His Majesty the King of Saxony shall continue to bear the title of Margrave of Upper Lusatia. His Majesty shall also continue, with relation to, and in virtue of, his right of eventual succession to the possessions of the Ernestine branch, to bear the title of Landgrave of Thuringia, and Count of Henneberg.

Art. XVII.—Austria, Russia, Great Britain, and France, guarantee to his Majesty the King of Prussia, his descendants and successors, the possession of the countries marked out in the fifteenth article, in full property and sovereignty.

Art. XVIII.—His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, wishing to give to the King of Prussia a fresh proof of his desire to remove every object of future discussion between their two courts, renounces for himself and his successors, his rights of sovereignty over the margraviates of Upper and Lower Lusatia, which belonged to him as King of Bohemia, as far as these rights concern the portion of these provinces placed under the dominion of his Majesty the King of Prussia, by virtue of the treaty with his Majesty the King of Saxony, concluded at Vienna on the 18th of May, 1815.

As to the right of reversion of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty to the said portion of the Lusatias united to Prussia, it is transferred to the house of Brandenburg now reigning in Prussia, his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty reserving to himself and his successors the power of resuming that right, in the event of the extinction of the said reigning house. His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty renounces also, in favour of his Prussian Majesty, the districts of Bohemia inclosed within the part of Upper Lusatia ceded by the treaty of the 18th of May, 1815, to his Prussian Majesty, which districts comprehended the places of Guntersdorf, Taubentrante, Neukretschien, Nieder-Gräbischheim, Winkel, and Gläkel, with their territories.

Art. XIX.—His Majesty the King of Prussia, and his Majesty the King of Saxony, wishing particularly to remove every object of future contest or dispute, renounce, each on his own part, and reciprocally in favour of one another, all feudal rights or pretensions, which they might exercise or might have exercised, beyond the frontiers fixed by the present treaty.

Art. XX.—His Majesty the King of Prussia promises to direct that proper care be taken, relative to whatever may affect the property and interests of the respective subjects, upon the most liberal principles. The present article shall be observed, particularly, with regard to the concerns of those individuals who possess property both under the Prussian and Saxon governments, to the commerce of Leipsic, and to all other objects of the same nature; and, in order that the individual liberty of the inhabitants, both of the ceded and other provinces, may not be infringed, they shall be allowed to emigrate from one territory to the other, without being exempted, however, from military service, and after fulfilling the formalities required by the laws. They may also remove their property, without being subject to any fine or drawback.

Art. XXI.—The communities, corporations, and religious establishments, and those for public instruction, in the provinces ceded by his Majesty the King of Saxony to Prussia, or in the provinces and districts remaining to his Saxon Majesty, shall preserve their property, whatever changes they may undergo, as well as the rents becoming due to them, according to the act of their foundation, or which they have acquired by a legal title since that period under the Prussian and Saxon governments; and neither party shall interfere in the administration and in the collection of the revenues, provided that they be conducted in a manner conformable to the laws, and that the charges be defrayed, to which all property or rents of the like nature are subjected, in the territory in which they occur.

Art. XXII.—No individual domiciliated in the provinces which are under the dominion of his Majesty the King of Saxony, any more than an individual domiciliated in those which by the present treaty pass under the dominion of the King of Prussia, shall be molested in his person, his property, rents, pensions, or revenues of any kind, in his rank or dignities, nor be prosecuted or called to account in any

manner, for any part which he, either in a civil or military capacity, may have taken in the events that have occurred since the commencement of the war, terminated by the peace concluded at Paris on the 30th of May, 1814. This article equally extends to those who, not being domiciliated in either part of Saxony, may possess in it landed property, rents, pensions, or revenues of any kind.

Art. XXIII.—His Majesty the King of Prussia, having, in consequence of the last war, re-assumed the possession of the provinces and territories which had been ceded by the peace of Tilsit, it is acknowledged and declared by the present article that his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, shall possess anew, as formerly, in full property and sovereignty, the following countries, that is to say :—

Those of his ancient provinces of Poland specified by article two; the city of Dantzic and its territory, as the latter was determined by the Treaty of Tilsit; the circle of Cottbus; the Old March; the part of the circle of Magdeburg, situated on the left bank of the Elbe, together with the circle of the Saale; the principality of Halberstadt, with the lordships of Derenburg, and of Hassenrode; the town and territory of Quedlinburg, (save and except the rights of her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia Albertine of Sweden, Abbess of Quedlinburg, conformably to the arrangements made in 1803); the Prussian part of the county of Mansfeld; the Prussian part of the county of Hohenstein; the Elchsfield; the town of Nordhausen with its territory; the town of Mühlhausen with its territory; the Prussian part of the district of Triefurt, with Dösla; the town and territory of Erfurt, with the exception of Klein-Brembach and Balstedt, inclosed in the principality of Weimar, ceded to the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar by the twenty-ninth article; the bailiwick of Wandersleben, belonging to the county of Untergleichen; the principality of Paderborn, with the Prussian part of the bailiwicks of Schwallenberg, Oldenberg, and Stoppelberg, and the jurisdictions of Hagendorf and Odenhausen, situated in the territory of Lippe; the county of Mark, with the part of Lippstadt belonging to it; the county of Werden; the county of Essen; the part of the duchy of Cleves on the right bank of the Rhine, with the town and fortress of Wesel; the part of the duchy, situated on the left bank, specified in article twenty-fifth; the secularized chapter of Elten; the principality of Munster, that is to say, the Prussian part of the former bishopric of Munster, with the exception of that part which has been ceded to his Britannic Majesty, King of Hanover, in virtue of the twenty-eighth article; the secularized provostship of Cappenberg; the county of Tecklenberg; the county of Lingen, with the exception of that part ceded to the kingdom of Hanover by article twenty-seventh; the principality of Minden; the county of Ravensberg; the secularized chapter of Herford; the principality of Neuchâtel, with the county of Valengin, such as their frontiers are regulated by the Treaty of Paris, and by the seventy-sixth article of this general treaty. The same disposition extends to the rights of sovereignty and *suzeraineté* over the county of Wernigerode, to that of high protection over the county of Hohen-Limbürg, and to all the other rights or pretensions whatsoever which his Prussian Majesty possessed and exercised, before the peace of Tilsit, and which he has not renounced by other treaties, acts, or conventions.

Art. XXIV.—His Majesty the King of Prussia shall unite to his monarchy in Germany, on this side of the Rhine, to be possessed by him and his successors in full property and sovereignty, the following countries :—

The provinces of Saxony designated in article fifteen, with the exception of the places and territories ceded, in virtue of article twenty-nine, to his Highness the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar; the territories ceded to Prussia by his Britannic Majesty, King of Hanover, by article twenty-nine; part of the department of Fulda, and such of the territories comprehended therein as are specified in article forty; the town and territory of Wetzlar, according to article twelve; the grand duchy of Berg, with the lordships of Hardenberg, Brock, Styrum, Scholler, and Odenthal, formerly belonging to the said duchy under the Palatine government; he districts of the ancient archbishopric of Cologne, lately belonging to the grand

duchy of Berg; the duchy of Westphalia, as lately possessed by his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Hesse; the county of Dortmund; the principality of Corbeiy; the mediatised districts specified in article forty-three. The ancient possessions of the House of Nassau-Dietz having been ceded to Prussia by his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, and a part of these possessions having been exchanged for the districts belonging to their Serene Highnesses the Duke and Prince of Nassau, the King of Prussia shall possess them, in sovereignty and property, and unite them to his monarchy.

1. The principality of Siegen, with the bailiwicks of Burbach and Neunkirchen, with the exception of a part containing 12,000 inhabitants, to belong to the Duke and Prince of Nassau.

2. The bailiwicks of Hohen-Solms, Greifenstein, Braunfels, Freusberg, Friedewald, Schonsten, Schonberg, Altenkirchen, Altenwied, Dierdorf, Neuerburg, Lintz, Hammerstein, with Engers and Heddesdorf; the town and territory of Neuwied; the parishes of Hamm, belonging to the bailiwick of Hackenberg; the parish of Horhausen, constituting part of the bailiwick of Horsbuck, and parts of the bailiwicks of Vallendar and Ehrenbreitstein, on the right bank of the Rhine, designated in the convention concluded between his Majesty the King of Prussia and their Serene Highnesses the Duke and Prince of Nassau, annexed to the present treaty.

Art. XXV.—His Majesty the King of Prussia shall also possess, in full property and sovereignty, the countries on the left bank of the Rhine, included in the frontier hereinafter mentioned:—

This frontier shall commence on the Rhine at Bingen: it shall thence ascend the course of the Nahe to the junction of this river with the Glan, and along the Glan to the village of Medarf, below Lauterecken; the towns of Kreutznach and Meisenheim, with their territories, to belong entirely to Prussia; but Lauterecken and its territory to remain beyond the Prussian frontier. From the Glan the frontier shall pass by Medarf, Merzweiler, Langweiler, Neideer, and Ober Fechenbach, Ellenbach, Chreunchenborn, Ausweiler, Cronweiler, Niederbrambach, Burbach, Boschweiler, Heubweiler, Hambach, and Rintzenberg, to the limits of the canton of Hermeskiel; the above places shall be included within the Prussian frontiers, and shall, together with their territories, belong to Prussia. From Rintzenberg to the Sarre the line of demarcation shall follow the cantonal limits, so that the cantons of Hermeskiel and Conz (in which latter, however, are excepted the places on the left bank of the Sarre) shall remain wholly to Prussia, while the cantons of Wadern, Merzig, and Sarrebourg, are to be beyond the Prussian frontier.

From the point where the limit of the canton of Conz, below Gomlingen, traverses the Sarre, the line shall descend the Sarre till it falls into the Moselle, thence it shall re-ascend the Moselle to its junction with the Sarre, from the latter river to the mouth of the Our, and along the Our to the limits of the ancient department of the Ourthe. The places traversed by these rivers shall not at all be divided, but shall belong, with their territories, to the power in whose state the greater part of these places shall be situated; the rivers themselves, in so far as they form the frontier, shall belong in common to the two powers bordering on them. In the old department of the Ourthe, the five cantons of Saint-Vith, Malmady, Cronenboerg, Schleiden, and Eupen, with the advanced point of the canton of Aubel, to the south of Aix-la-Chapelle, shall belong to Prussia, and the frontier shall follow that of these cantons, so that a line, drawn from north to south, may cut the said point of the canton of Aubel, and be prolonged as far as the point of contact of the three old departments of the Ourthe, the Lower Meuse, and the Roer; leaving that point, the frontier shall follow the line which separates these two last departments till it reaches the river Worm, which falls into the Roer, and shall go along this river to the point where it again touches the limits of these two departments; when it shall pursue that limit to the south of Hillensberg, shall ascend from thence towards the north, and leaving Hillensberg to Prussia, and cutting the canton of Sittard in two parts, nearly equal, so that Sittard and Susteren remain on the left, shall approach the old Dutch territory; then following the old frontier of that territory, to the point where it touched the old Austrian principality of Gueldres, on the side of Burenmonde, and

directing itself towards the most eastern point of the Dutch territory, to the north of Swalmen, it shall continue to inclose this territory.

Then, setting out from the most eastern point, it joins that other part of the Dutch territory in which Venloo is situated, without including the latter town and its district; thence to the old Dutch frontier near Mook, situated below Genep, it shall follow the course of the Meuse, at such a distance from the right bank, as that all the places situated within a thousand Rhenish yards (*Rheinländische Ruthen*) of this bank, shall, with their territories, belong to the kingdom of the Netherlands; it being well understood, however, in regard to the reciprocity of this principle, that no point of the bank of the Meuse shall constitute a portion of the Prussian territory, unless such point approach to within eight hundred Rhenish yards of it.

From the point where the line just described joins the old Dutch frontier, as far as the Rhine, this frontier shall remain essentially as it was in 1795, between Cleves and the United Provinces. It shall be examined by the commission, which shall be appointed without delay by the two governments, to proceed to the exact determination of the limits, both of the kingdom of the Netherlands, and the grand duchy of Luxembourg, designated in articles sixty-six and sixty-eight, and this commission shall regulate, with the aid of experienced persons, whatever concerns the hydro-technical constructions, and other analogous points, in the most equitable manner, and conformably to the mutual interests of the Prussian states, and those of the Netherlands. This same disposition extends to the regulation of the limits, in the districts of Kyfwaerd, Lobith, and all the territory to Kekerdom.

The places named Huissen, Malburg, Le Lyniers, with the town of Sevenaer, and the Lordship of Weel, shall form a part of the kingdom of the Netherlands, and his Prussian Majesty renounces them in perpetuity, for himself, his heirs, and successors.

His Majesty the King of Prussia, in uniting to his states the provinces and districts designated in the present article, enters into all the rights, and takes upon himself all the charges and engagements stipulated, with respect to the countries dismembered from France, by the Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814.

The Prussian provinces upon the two banks of the Rhine, as far as above the town of Cologne, which shall also be comprised within this district, shall bear the name of the Grand Duchy of the Lower Rhine. and his Majesty shall assume the title of it.

Art. XXVI. —His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having substituted for his ancient title of Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, that of King of Hanover, and this title having been acknowledged by all the powers of Europe, and by the Princes and free towns of Germany, the countries which have till now composed the electorate of Brunswick Luneburg, according as their limits have been recognized and fixed for the future, by the following articles, shall henceforth form the kingdom of Hanover.

Art. XXVII. —His Majesty the King of Prussia cedes to his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover, to be possessed by his Majesty and his successors, in full property and sovereignty :—

1. The principality of Hildesheim, which shall pass under the government of his Majesty, with all the rights and all the charges with which the said principality was transferred to the Prussian government.

2. The town and territory of Goslar.

3. The principality of East Friesland, including the country called Harlinger-Land, under the conditions reciprocally stipulated in the thirtieth article for the navigation of the Ems, and the commerce of the port of Embden. The states of the principality shall preserve their rights and privileges.

4. The lower country of Lingen, and the part of the principality of Prussian Munster, which is situated between this county and the part of the Rheina Wolbeck occupied by the Hanoverian government; but as it has been agreed that the kingdom of Hanover shall obtain by this cession an accession of territory comprising a population of 22,000 souls, and, as the lower county of Lingen, and the part of the prin-

ality of Munster here mentioned, might not come up to the condition, his Majesty the King of Prussia engages to cause the line of demarcation to be extended into the principality of Munster, as far as may be necessary to contain that population. The commission, which the Prussian and Hanoverian governments shall name without delay, to proceed to the exact regulation of the limits, shall be particularly charged with the execution of this provision. His Prussian Majesty renounces in perpetuity, for himself, his descendants, and successors, the provinces and territories mentioned in the present article, as well as all the rights which have any relation to them.

Art. XXVIII.—His Majesty the King of Prussia renounces in perpetuity, for himself, his descendants, and successors, all right and claim whatever, that his Majesty, in his quality of Sovereign of Eichsfeld, might advance to the chapter of St. Peter, in the borough of Norton, or to its dependencies, situated in the Hanoverian territory.

Art. XXIX.—His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover, cedes to his Majesty the King of Prussia, to be possessed by him and his successors, in full property and sovereignty :—

1. That part of the duchy of Lauenburg situated upon the right bank of the Elbe, with the villages of Luneburg situated on the same bank. The part of the duchy upon the left bank remains to the kingdom of Hanover. The states of that part of the duchy which passes under the Prussian government shall preserve their rights and privileges ; especially those founded upon the provincial recess of the 15th of September, 1702, and confirmed by the King of Great Britain, now reigning, under date of June 21st, 1765.

2. The bailiwick of Klotze.

3. The bailiwick of Elbingerode.

4. The villages of Rudegersbagen and Gansetelch.

5. The bailiwick of Reckeberg.

His Britannic Majesty, King of Hanover, renounces for himself, his descendants, and successors for ever, the provinces and districts specified in the present article, and all the rights which have reference to them.

Art. XXX.—His Majesty the King of Prussia, and his Britannic Majesty, King of Hanover, animated with the desire of entirely equalizing the advantages of the commerce of the Ems and of the Port of Embden, and of rendering them common to their respective subjects, have agreed on this head to what follows :—

1. The Hanoverian government engages to cause to be executed, at its expense, in the years 1815 and 1816, the works which a commission, composed partly of artists, and to be immediately appointed by Prussia and Hanover, shall deem necessary to render navigable that part of the river of Ems which extends from the Prussian frontier to its mouth, and to keep it, after the execution of such works, always in the same state in which those works shall have placed it, for the benefit of navigation.

2. The Prussian subjects shall be allowed to import and export, by the port of Embden, all kind of provisions, productions, and goods, whether natural or artificial, and to keep in the town of Embden, warehouses, wherein to place the said goods for two years, dating from their arrival in the towns, without their being subject to any other inspection than that to which those of the Hanoverian subjects are liable.

3. The Prussian vessels, and merchants of the same nation, shall not pay for navigation, for exportation, or importation of merchandise, or for warehousing, any other tolls or duties than those charged upon the Hanoverian subjects. These tolls and duties shall be regulated by agreement between Prussia and Hanover, and no alteration shall be introduced into the tariff hereafter, but by mutual consent. The privileges and liberties just specified extend equally to those Hanoverian subjects who navigate that part of the river Ems which remains to the King of Prussia.

4. Prussian subjects shall not be compellable to employ the merchants of Embden for the trade they carry on with that port ; they shall be at liberty to dispose of their

commodities either to the inhabitants of the town or to foreigners, without paying any other duties than those to which the Hanoverian subjects are subjected, and which cannot be raised but by mutual consent.

His Majesty the King of Prussia, on his part, engages to grant to Hanoverian subjects the free navigation of the canal of the Stecknitz, so as not to exact from them any other duties than those which shall be paid by the inhabitants of the duchy of Lauenburg. His Prussian Majesty engages, besides, to insure these advantages to Hanoverian subjects, should he hereafter cede the duchy of Lauenburg to another Sovereign.

Art. XXXI.—His Majesty the King of Prussia, and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover, mutually agree to three military roads through their respective dominions :—

1st. One from Halberstadt, through the country of Hildesheim, to Minden.

2d. A second from the Old March, through Gihorn and Neustadt, to Minden.

3d. A third from Osnabruck, through Ippenburen and Rheina, to Bentheim.

The two first in favour of Prussia, and the third in favour of Hanover.

The two governments shall appoint, without delay, a commission, to prepare, by common consent, the necessary regulations for the establishment of the said roads.

Art. XXXII.—The bailiwick of Meppen, belonging to the Duke of Aremberg, as well as the part of Rheina Wolbeck belonging to the Duke of Looz-Corswaren, which at this moment are provisionally occupied by the Hanoverian government, shall be placed in such relations with the kingdom of Hanover, as the federate constitution of Germany shall regulate for the mediatised territories.

The Prussian and Hanoverian governments having nevertheless reserved to themselves to agree hereafter, if necessary, to the fixing of another line of frontier with regard to the county belonging to the Duke of Looz-Corswaren, the said governments shall charge the commission they may name for fixing the limits of the part of the county of Lingen ceded to Hanover, to deliberate thereupon, and to adjust definitively the frontiers of that part of the county belonging to the Duke of Looz-Corswaren, which, as aforesaid, is to be possessed by the Hanoverian government.

The relations between the Hanoverian government and the county of Bentheim shall remain as regulated by the treaties of mortgage existing between his Britannic Majesty and the Count of Bentheim : and when the rights derived from this treaty shall have expired, the relations of the county of Bentheim towards the kingdom of Hanover shall be such as the federate constitution of Germany shall regulate for the mediatised territories.

Art. XXXIII.—His Britannic Majesty, King of Hanover, in order to meet the wishes of his Prussian Majesty to procure a suitable arrondissement of territory for his Serene Highness the Duke of Oldenburg, promises to cede to him a district containing a population of 5,000 inhabitants.

Art. XXXIV.—His Serene Highness the Duke of Holstein-Oldenburg shall assume the title of Grand Duke of Oldenburg.

Art. XXXV.—Their Serene Highnesses the Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, shall assume the titles of Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Strelitz.

Art. XXXVI.—His Highness the Duke of Saxe-Weimar shall assume the title of Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar.

Art. XXXVII.—His Majesty the King of Prussia shall cede from the mass of his states, as they have been fixed and recognized by the present treaty, to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, districts containing a population of 50,000 inhabitants, contiguous to, or bordering upon, the principality of Weimar. His Prussian Majesty engages also to cede to his Royal Highness, out of that part

of the principality of Fulda which has been given up to him in virtue of the same stipulations, districts containing a population of 27,000 inhabitants. His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Weimar shall possess the above districts in full property and sovereignty, and shall unite them in perpetuity to his present states.

Art. XXXVIII.—The districts and territories which are to be ceded to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, in virtue of the preceding article, shall be determined by a particular convention; and his Majesty the King of Prussia engages to conclude this convention, and to cause the above districts and territories to be given up to his Royal Highness, within two months from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty concluded at Vienna, June 1st, 1815, between his Prussian Majesty and his Royal Highness the Grand Duke.

Art. XXXIX.—His Majesty the King of Prussia, however, cedes immediately, and promises to give up to his Royal Highness, in the space of a fortnight, reckoning from the signature of the above-mentioned treaty, the following districts and territories, viz.—

The lordship of Blankenhayn, with the reservation of the bailiwick of Wandersleben, belonging to Unter-Gleichen, which is not to be comprised in this cession.

The lower lordship of Kranichfeld, the commanderies of the Teutonic order Swaetzen, Lebesten, and Liebstedt, with their demesneal revenues, which, constituting a part of the bailiwick of Eckartsberga, are inclosed in the territory of Saxe-Weimar, as well as all the other territories inclosed within the principality of Weimar, and belonging to the said bailiwick; the bailiwick of Tautenburg, with the exception of Droizen, Gorschen, Wethalung, Wetterscheid, and Mollschutz, which shall remain to Prussia.

The village of Remvula, as well as the villages of Klein-Brembach and Berlstedt, inclosed within the principality of Weimar, and belonging to the territory of Erfurth.

The property of the villages of Bischoffsroda and Probstzeila, inclosed within the territory of Eisenach; the sovereignty of which already belongs to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke.

The population of these different districts is understood to form part of that of 50,000 souls, secured to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, by article thirty-seventh, and shall be deducted from it.

Art. XL.—The department of Fulda, together with the territories of the neighbouring ancient Noblesse, comprised, at this moment, under the provisional administration of this department, viz. Mansbach, Bucheman, Werda, Lensfeld, excepting, however, the following bailiwicks and territories, viz. the bailiwicks of Hammelburg, with Thulba and Saleck, Bruckenan, with Motten, Seelmuuster, with Urzel and Somnerz; also the part of the bailiwick of Biberstein, which contains the villages of Batten, Brand, Dietges, Findlos, Liebhart, Melpertz, Ober-Bernbarst, Saifferts, and Thaiden, as well as the domains of Holzkirchen, inclosed in the Grand Duchy of Wurzburg, is ceded to his Majesty the King of Prussia, and he shall be put in possession of it within three weeks from and after the 16th of June of this year.

His Prussian Majesty engages to take upon himself, in proportion to that part of the territory which he obtains by the present article, his share of the obligations which all the new possessors of the heretofore Grand Duchy of Frankfurt will have to fulfil, and to transfer such engagements to the princes with whom his majesty may hereafter make exchanges or cessions of these districts and territories of the department of Fulda.

Art. XLI.—The domains of the principality of Fulda, and of the county of Hanau, having been sold to purchasers, who have not as yet made good all their

instalments, a commission shall be named by the princes to whom the said domains are transferred, to regulate, in an uniform manner, whatever has any reference to this transaction, and to do justice to the claims of the purchasers of the said domains. This commission shall pay particular attention to the treaty concluded at Frankfort, December 2d, 1813, between the Allied Powers and his Royal Highness the Elector of Hesse; and it is laid down as a principle, that in case the sale of these domains should not be considered as binding, the purchasers shall receive back the sums already discharged, and they shall not be obliged to quit before such restitution shall have had its full and entire effect.

Art. XLII.—The town and territory of Wetzlar passes, in all property and sovereignty, to his Majesty the King of Prussia.

Art. XLIII.—The following mediatised districts, viz. the possessions which the Princes of Salm Salm, and Salm Kyrbourg, the counts called the Rhetmund-Wildgrafen, and the Duke of Croy, obtained by the principal rescript of the extraordinary deputation of the empire, of the 25th of February, 1803, in the old circle of Westphalia, as well as the lordships of Anholt and Gehmen, the possessions of the Duke of Loos-Corswaren, which are in the same situation (in so far as they are not placed under the Hanoverian government), the county of Steinfurt, belonging to the Count of Bentheim-Bentheim, the county of Recklinghausen, belonging to the Duke of Arenberg, the lordships of Rheda, Gutersloh, and Gronau, belonging to the Count of Bentheim-Tecklenberg, the county of Rittberg, belonging to the Prince of Kaunitz, the lordships of Neustadt and Gimborn, belonging to the Count of Walmoden, and the lordship of Homberg, belonging to the Princes of Saxe-Wingenstein-Berleburg, shall be placed in such relations with the Prussian monarchy as the federative constitution of Germany shall regulate for the mediatised territories.

The possessions of the ancient and immediate nobility within the Prussian territory, and particularly the lordship of Wildenberg, in the Grand Duchy of Berg, and the barony of Schauen, in the principality of Hülberstadt, shall belong to the Prussian monarchy.

Art. XLIV.—His Majesty the King of Bavaria shall possess, for himself, his heirs, and successors, in full property and sovereignty, the Grand Duchy of Würzburg, as it was held by his Imperial Highness the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, and the principality of Aschaffenburg, such as it constituted part of the Grand Duchy of Frankfort, under the denomination of department of Aschaffenburg.

Art. XLV.—With respect to the rights and prerogatives, and the maintenance of the Prince Primate as an ancient ecclesiastical prince, it is determined:

1st. That he shall be treated in a manner analogous to the articles of rescript, which, in 1803, regulated the situation of the secularized princes, and to the practice observed with regard to them.

2dly. He shall receive for this purpose, dated from June 1st, 1814, the sum of 100,000 florins, by payments of three months, in good specie, at the rate of 24 florins to the mark, as an annuity.

This annuity shall be paid by the sovereigns under whose governments the provinces or districts of the Grand Duchy of Frankfort pass, in proportion to the part which each of them shall possess.

3dly. The advances made by the Prince Primate, from his private purse, to the general chest of the principality of Fulda, such as they have been liquidated and proved, shall be refunded to him, his heirs, and executors.

This expenditure shall be defrayed in proportions by the sovereigns who shall possess the provinces and districts composing the principality of Fulda.

4thly. The furniture and other objects which may be proved to belong to the private property of the Prince Primate, shall be restored to him.

5thly. The officers of the Grand Duchy of Frankfort, as well civil and ecclesiastical, as military and diplomatic, shall be treated conformably to the principles of the fifty-ninth article of the protocol of the empire, dated the 25th of February, 1803, and from the 1st of June the pensions shall be proportionably paid by the sovereigns who enter on the possession of the states which formed the said grand duchy since the 1st of June, 1814.

6thly. A commission shall be established without delay, composed of members appointed by the said sovereigns, to regulate whatever relates to the execution of the dispositions comprised in this article.

7thly. It is understood, that in virtue of this arrangement, any claim that might be advanced against the Prince Primate, in his character of Grand Duke of Frankfort, shall be annulled, and that he shall not be molested on account of any reclamation of this nature.

Art. XLVI.—The city of Frankfort, with its territory, such as it was in 1803, is declared free, and shall constitute a part of the Germanic League. Its institutions shall be founded upon the principle of a perfect equality of rights for the different sects of the Christian religion. This equality of rights shall extend to all civil and political rights, and shall be observed in all matters of government and administration. The disputes which may arise, whether in regard to the establishment of the constitution, or in regard to its maintenance, shall be referred to the Germanic diet, and can only be decided by the same.

Art. XLVII.—His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Hesse, in exchange for the duchy of Westphalia, ceded to his Majesty the King of Prussia, obtains a territory on the left bank of the Rhine, in the ancient department of Mont Tonnerre, comprising a population of 140,000 inhabitants. His Royal Highness shall possess this territory in full sovereignty and property. He shall likewise obtain the property of that part of the salt mines of Kreuznach which is situated on the left bank of the Nahe, but the sovereignty of them shall remain to Prussia.

Art. XLVIII.—The Landgrave of Homburg is re-instated in his possessions, revenues, rights, and political relations, of which he was deprived in consequence of the Confederation of the Rhine.

Art. XLIX.—In the ci-devant department of the Sarre, on the frontiers of the states of his Majesty the King of Prussia, there is reserved a district, containing a population of 69,000 souls, to be disposed of in the following manner: the Duke of Saxe-Cobourg, and the Duke of Oldenburg, shall obtain each a territory comprising 20,000 inhabitants; the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, each a territory comprising 10,000 inhabitants; and the Count of Peppenheim a territory comprising 9,000 inhabitants. The territory of the Count of Peppenheim shall be under the sovereignty of his Prussian Majesty.

Art. L.—The acquisitions assigned by the preceding article to the Dukes of Saxe-Cobourg, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, not being contiguous to their respective states, their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, promise to employ their good offices, at the close of the present war, or as soon as circumstances shall permit, in order to procure for the said princes, either by exchanges or any other arrangements, the advantages that they are disposed to insure to them; and that the administration of the said districts may be rendered less complicated, it is agreed that they shall be provisionally under the Prussian administration for the benefit of the new proprietors.

Art. LI.—All the territories and possessions, as well on the left bank of the Rhine, in the old departments of the Sarre and Mont Tonnerre, as in the former departments of Fulda and Frankfort, or inclosed in the adjacent countries, placed at the disposal of the Allied Powers, by the Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and not disposed of by other articles of the present treaty, shall pass in full sovereignty and property, under the government of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria.

Art. LII.—The principality of Isenburg is placed under the sovereignty of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, and shall belong to him, under such limitations as the federative constitution of Germany shall regulate for the mediatised states.

Art. LIII.—The sovereign princes and free towns of Germany, under which denomination, for the present purpose, are comprehended their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the Kings of Prussia, of Denmark, and of the Netherlands: that is to say, the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia for all their possessions which anciently belonged to the German empire, the King of Denmark for the duchy of Holstein, and the King of the Netherlands for the grand duchy of Luxembourg, established among themselves a perpetual confederation, which shall be called "the Germanic Confederation."

Art. LIV.—The object of this confederation is the maintenance of the external and internal safety of Germany, and of the independence and inviolability of the confederated states.

Art. LV.—The members of the confederation, as such, are equal with regard to their rights; and they all equally engage to maintain the act which constitutes their union.

Art. LVI.—The affairs of the confederation shall be confided to a federative diet, in which all the members shall vote by their plenipotentiaries, either individually or collectively, in the following manner, without prejudice to their rank:—

1. Austria	-	-	1 Vote.	13. Brunswick and Nassau	1 Vote.
2. Prussia	-	-	1 —	14. Mecklenburg-Schwerin and	
3. Bavaria	-	-	1 —	Strellitz	- 1 —
4. Saxony	-	-	1 —	15. Holstein-Oldenburg, Anhalt	
5. Hanover	-	-	1 —	and Schwartzburg	1 —
6. Wurtemberg	-	-	1 —	16. Hohenzollern, Lichtenstein,	
7. Baden	-	-	1 —	Reuss, Schaumburg-Lippe,	
8. Electoral Hesse	-	-	1 —	Lippe and Waldeck	- 1 —
9. Grand Duchy of Hesse	1	—	1 —	17. The free towns of Lubec,	
10. Denmark, for Holstein	1	—	1 —	Frankfort, Bremen, and	
11. The Netherlands, for Luxembourg	-	-	1 —	Hamburg	- 1 —
12. Grand Ducal and Ducal Houses of Saxony	-	-	1 —		

Art. LVII.—Austria shall preside at the federative diet. Each state of the confederation has the right of making propositions, and the presiding state shall bring them under deliberation within a definite time.

Art. LVIII.—Whenever fundamental laws are to be enacted, changes made in the fundamental laws of the confederation, measures adopted relative to the federative act itself, and organic institutions or other arrangements made for the common interest, the diet shall form itself into a general assembly, and, in that case, the distribution of votes shall be as follows, calculated according to the respective extent of the individual votes:—

Austria shall have	-	4 Votes.	Holstein-Oldenburg	-	1 Vote.
Prussia	-	4	Anhalt-Dessau	-	1
Saxony	-	4	Anhalt-Bernburg	-	1
Bavaria	-	4	Anhalt-Köthen	-	1
Hanover	-	4	Schwartzburg-Sondershausen	-	1
Württemberg	-	4	Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt	-	1
Baden	-	3	Hohenzollern-Hechingen	-	1
Electoral Hesse	-	3	Lichtenstein	-	1
Grand Duchy of Hesse	-	3	Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen	-	1
Holstein	-	3	Waldeck	-	1
Luxembourg	-	3	Reuss, (Elder Branch)	-	1
Brunswick	-	2	Reuss, (Younger Branch)	-	1
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	-	2	Schaumburg-Lippe	-	1
Nassau	-	2	The free town of Lübeck	-	1
Saxe-Weimar	-	1	Frankfort	-	1
Saxe-Gotha	-	1	Bremen	-	1
Saxe-Cobourg	-	1	Hamburg	-	1
Saxe-Meiningen	-	1			
Saxe-Hildburghausen	-	1			
Mecklenburg-Strelitz	-	1			
					Total 80 Votes.

The diet, in deliberating on the organic laws of the confederation, shall consider whether any collective votes ought to be granted to the ancient, mediatised states of the empire.

Art. LIX.—The question, whether a subject is to be discussed by the general assembly, conformably to the principles above established, shall be decided in the ordinary assembly by a majority of votes. The same assembly shall prepare the drafts of resolutions which are to be proposed to the general assembly, and shall furnish the latter with all the necessary information, either for adopting or rejecting them.

The plurality of votes shall regulate the decisions, both in the ordinary and general assemblies, with this difference, however, that, in the ordinary assembly, an absolute majority shall be deemed sufficient, while, in the other, two-thirds of the votes shall be necessary to form the majority.

When the votes are even in the ordinary assembly, the president shall have the casting vote; but when the assembly is to deliberate on the acceptance or change of any of the fundamental laws, upon organic institutions, upon individual rights, or upon affairs of religion, the plurality of votes shall not be deemed sufficient, either in the ordinary or in the general assembly.

The diet is permanent: it may, however, when the subjects submitted to its deliberation are disposed of, adjourn to a fixed period, which shall not exceed four months.

All ulterior arrangements relative to the postponement or the dispatch of urgent business, which may arise during the recess, shall be reserved for the diet, which will consider them when engaged in preparing the organic laws.

Art. LX.—With respect to the order in which the members of the confederation shall vote, it is agreed, that while the diet shall be occupied in framing organic laws, there shall be no fixed regulation; and whatever may be the order observed on such an occasion, it shall neither prejudice any of the members, nor establish a precedent for the future. After framing the organic laws, the diet will deliberate upon the manner of arranging this matter by a permanent regulation, for which purpose it will depart as little as possible from those which have been observed in the ancient diet, and more particularly according to the recess of the deputation of the empire in 1803. The order to be adopted shall in no way affect the rank and precedence of the members of the confederation, except in as far as they concern the diet.

Art. LXI.—The diet shall assemble at Frankfort on the Maine. Its first meeting is fixed for the 1st of September, 1815.

Art. LXII.—The first object to be considered by the diet after its opening, shall be the framing of the fundamental laws of the confederation, and of its organic institutions, with respect to its exterior, military, and interior relations.

Art. LXIII.—The states of the confederation engage to defend not only the whole of Germany, but each individual state of the union, in case it should be attacked, and they mutually guarantee to each other such of their possessions as are comprised in this union.

When war shall be declared by the confederation, no member can open a separate negotiation with the enemy, nor make peace, nor conclude an armistice, without the consent of the other members.

The confederated states engage, in the same manner, not to make war against each other, on any pretext, nor to pursue their differences by force of arms, but to submit them to the diet, which will attempt a mediation by means of a commission. If this should not succeed, and a juridical sentence becomes necessary, recourse shall be had to a well-organized *Austregul* court (*Austregul instanz*), to the decision of which the contending parties are to submit without appeal.

Art. LXIV.—The articles comprised under the title of *Particular Arrangements*, in the act of the Germanic confederation, as annexed to the present general treaty, both in original and in a French translation, shall have the same force and validity as if they were textually inserted herein.

Art. LXV.—The ancient United Provinces of the Netherlands and the late Belgic Provinces, both within the limits fixed by the following article, shall form, together with the countries and territories designated in the same article, under the sovereignty of his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange Nassau, Sovereign Prince of the United Provinces, the kingdom of the Netherlands, hereditary in the order of succession already established by the act of the constitution of the said United Provinces.

The title and the prerogatives of the royal dignity are recognized by all the powers in the house of Orange Nassau.

Art. LXVI.—The line comprising the territories which compose the kingdom of the Netherlands, is determined in the following manner:—

It leaves the sea, and extends along the frontiers of France on the side of the Netherlands, as rectified and fixed by article three of the Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, to the Meuse; thence along the same frontiers to the old limits of the duchy of Luxembourg. From this point it follows the direction of the limits between that duchy and the ancient bishopric of Liege, till it meets (to the south of Delfelt) the western limits of that canton, and of that of Malmédy, to the point where the latter reaches the limits between the old departments of the Ourthe and the Roer; it then follows these limits, to where they touch those of the former French canton of Eupen, in the duchy of Limburg, and following the western limit of that canton, in a northerly direction, leaving to the right a small part of the former French canton of Aubel, joins the point of contact of the three old departments of the Ourthe, the Lower Meuse, and the Roer; parting again from this point, this line follows that which divides the two latter departments, until it reaches the Worm (a river falling into the Roer), and goes along this river to the point where it again reaches the limit of these two departments, pursues this limit to the south of Hillensberg (the old department of the Roer), from whence it re-ascends to the north, and leaving Hillensberg to the right, and dividing the canton of Sittard into two nearly equal parts, so that Sittard and Susteren remain on the left, it reaches the old Dutch territory; from whence, leaving this territory to the left, it goes on following its eastern frontier to the point where it touches the old Austrian principality

of Gueldres, on this side of Ruremonde, and directing itself towards the most eastern point of the Dutch territory, to the north of Swalmen, continues to inclose this territory.

Lastly, setting out from the most eastern point, it joins that part of the Dutch territory in which Venloo is situated: that town and its territory being included within it. From thence to the old Dutch frontier near Mook, situated above Genesep, the line follows the course of the Meuse, at such a distance from the right bank, that all the places within a thousand Rhenish yards (*Rheinländische Ruthen*) from it shall belong, with their territories, to the kingdom of the Netherlands; it being understood, however, as to the reciprocity of this principle, that the Prussian territory shall not at any time touch the Meuse, or approach it within the distance of a thousand Rhenish yards.

From the point where the line just described reaches the ancient Dutch frontier, as far as the Rhine, this frontier shall remain essentially the same as it was in 1795, between Cleves and the United Provinces. This line shall be examined by a commission, which the governments of Prussia and the Netherlands shall name without delay, for the purpose of proceeding to the exact determination of the limits, as well of the kingdom of the Netherlands, as of the grand duchy of Luxembourg, specified in article sixty-eight; and this commission, aided by professional persons, shall regulate every thing concerning the hydrotechnical constructions, and other similar points, in the most equitable manner, and the most conformable to the mutual interests of the Prussian states, and of those of the Netherlands. This same arrangement refers to the fixing of limits in the districts of Kyfwaerd, Lobith, and in the whole territory as far as Kekerdom.

The enclaves of Huissen, Malburg, Lymers, with the town of Sevenaer, and lordship of Weel, shall form a part of the kingdom of the Netherlands; and his Prussian Majesty renounces them in perpetuity, for himself, his heirs, and successors.

Art. LXVII.—That part of the old Duchy of Luxembourg which is comprised in the limits specified in the following article, is likewise ceded to the Sovereign Prince of the United Provinces, now King of the Netherlands, to be possessed in perpetuity by him and his successors, in full property and sovereignty. The Sovereign of the Netherlands shall add to his titles that of Grand Duke of Luxembourg, his Majesty reserving to himself the privilege of making such family arrangement between the princes his sons, relative to the succession to the Grand Duchy, as he shall think conformable to the interests of his monarchy and to his paternal intentions.

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, serving as a compensation for the principalities of Nassau Dillenburg, Siegen, Hadamar, and Dietz, shall form one of the states of the Germanic confederation: and the Prince, King of the Netherlands, shall enter into the system of this confederation, as Grand Duke of Luxembourg, with all the prerogatives and privileges enjoyed by the other German Princes.

The town of Luxembourg, in a military point of view, shall be considered as a fortress of the confederation: the Grand Duke shall, however, retain the right of appointing the governor and military commandant of this fortress, subject to the approbation of the executive power of the confederation, and under such other conditions as it may be judged necessary to establish, in conformity with the future constitution of the said confederation.

Art. LXVIII.—The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg shall consist of all the territory situated between the kingdom of the Netherlands, as it has been designated by article sixty-six, France, the Moselle, as far as the mouth of the Sare, the course of the Sare, as far as the junction of the Our, and the course of this last river, as far as the limits of the former French canton of St. Vith, which shall not belong to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Art. LXIX.—His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxembourg, shall possess, in perpetuity for himself and his successors, the full and entire

sovereignty of that part of the Duchy of Bouillon, which is not ceded to France by the Treaty of Paris; and which, therefore, shall be united to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Disputes having arisen with respect to the said Duchy of Bouillon, the competitor who shall legally establish his right, in the manner hereafter specified, shall possess, in full property, the said part of the duchy, as it was enjoyed by the last Duke, under the sovereignty of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxembourg.

This decision shall be made by arbitration, and be without appeal. For this purpose there shall be appointed a certain number of arbitrators, one by each of the two competitors, and others, to the number of three, by the courts of Austria, Prussia, and Sardinia. They shall assemble at Aix-la-Chapelle, as soon as the state of the war and other circumstances may admit of it, and their determination shall be made known within six months from their first meeting.

In the interim, his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxembourg, shall hold in trust the property of the said part of the duchy of Bouillon, in order that he may restore it, together with the revenues of the provincial administration, to the competitor in whose favour the arbitrators shall decide; and his said Majesty shall indemnify him for the loss of the revenues arising from the rights of sovereignty, by means of some equitable arrangement. Should the restitution fall to Prince Charles of Rohan, this property, when in his possession, shall be regulated by the laws of the substitution which constitutes his title thereto.

Art. LXX.—His Majesty the King of the Netherlands renounces, in perpetuity, for himself, his heirs, and successors, in favour of his Majesty the King of Prussia, the sovereign possessions which the house of Nassau Orange held in Germany, namely, the principalities of Dillenburg, Dietz, Segen, and Hadamar, with the lordships of Beilstein, such as those possessions have been definitively arranged between the two branches of the house of Nassau, by the treaty concluded at the Hague on the 14th of July, 1814. His Majesty also renounces the principality of Fulda, and the other districts and territories which were secured to him by the twelfth article of the principal recess of the extraordinary deputation of the empire of the 25th of February, 1803.

Art. LXXI.—The right and order of succession, established between the two branches of the house of Nassau, by the act of 1783, called *Nassauischer Erbvertrags*, is confirmed, and transferred from the four principalities of Orange Nassau, to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Art. LXXII.—His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, in uniting under his sovereignty the countries designated in the sixty-sixth and sixty-eighth articles, enters into all the rights, and takes upon himself all the charges and all the stipulated engagements, relative to the provinces and districts detached from France by the treaty of peace concluded at Paris, the 30th of May, 1814.

Art. LXXIII.—His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, having recognized and sanctioned, under date of the 21st of July, 1814, as the basis of the union of the Belgic Provinces with the United Provinces, the eight articles contained in the document annexed to the present treaty, the said articles shall have the same force and validity as if they were inserted, word for word, in the present instrument.

Art. LXXIV.—The integrity of the nineteen cantons, as they existed in a political body, from the signature of the convention of the 29th of December, 1813, is recognized as the basis of the Helvetic system.

Art. LXXV.—The Vallais, the territory of Geneva, and the principality of

Neuchâtel, are united to Switzerland, and shall form three new cantons. The valley of Dappes, having formed part of the canton of Vaud, is restored to it.

Art. LXXVI.—The bishopric of Basle, and the city and territory of Bienne, shall be united to the Helvetic confederation, and shall form part of the canton of Berne. The following districts, however, are excepted from this last arrangement:—

1. A district of about three square leagues in extent, including the communes of Altschweiller, Schonbuch, Oberweiler, Terweiler, Ettingen, Furstenstein, Plotten, Pfeffingen, Aesch, Bruck, Reinach, Arlesheim; which district shall be united to the canton of Basle.

2. A small *enclave*, situated near the village of Neuchâtel de Lignerès, which is at present, with respect to civil jurisdiction, dependent upon the canton of Neuchâtel, and with respect to criminal jurisdiction, upon that of the bishopric of Basle, shall belong in full sovereignty to the principality of Neuchâtel.

Art. LXXVII.—The inhabitants of the bishopric of Basle and those of Bienne, united to the cantons of Berne and Basle, shall enjoy, in every respect, without any distinction of religion (which shall be maintained in its present state), the same political and civil rights which are enjoyed, or may be enjoyed, by the inhabitants of the ancient parts of the said cantons; they shall, therefore, be equally competent to become candidates for the places of representatives, and for all other appointments, according to the constitution of the cantons. Such municipal privileges as are compatible with the constitution and the general regulations of the canton of Berne, shall be preserved to the town of Bienne, and to the villages that formed part of its jurisdiction.

The sale of the national domains shall be confirmed, and the feudal rights and tithes cannot be re-established.

The respective acts of the union shall be framed conformably to the principles above declared, by commission, composed of an equal number of deputies from each of the directing parties concerned. Those from the bishopric of Basle shall be chosen by the canton, from among the most eminent citizens of the country. The said acts shall be guaranteed by the Swiss confederation. All points upon which the parties cannot agree, shall be decided by a court of arbitration, to be named by the diet.

Art. LXXVIII.—The cession, made by the third article of the Treaty of Vienna, of the 14th of October, 1809, of the lordship of Razuns, inclosed in the country of the Grisons, having expired; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, being restored to all the rights attached to the said possession, confirms the disposition which he made of it, by a declaration, dated the 20th of March, 1815, in favour of the canton of the Grisons.

Art. LXXIX.—In order to insure the commercial and military communications of the town of Geneva with the canton of Vaud, and the rest of Switzerland; and with a view to fulfil, in that respect, the fourth article of the Treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814, his most Christian Majesty consents so to place the line of custom-houses, that the road which leads from Geneva into Switzerland by Versoy, shall, at all times, be free, and that neither the post nor travellers, nor the transport of merchandise, shall be interrupted by any examination of the officers of the customs, nor subjected to any duty. It is equally understood, that the passage of Swiss troops on this road, shall not, in any manner, be obstructed.

In the additional regulations to be made on this subject, the execution of the treaties relative to the free communication between the town of Geneva and the jurisdiction of Pénay, shall be assured in the manner most convenient to the inhabi-

tants of Geneva. His most Christian Majesty also consents that the gendarmerie and militia of Geneva, after having communicated on the subject with the nearest military post of the French gendarmerie, shall pass on the high road of Meyrin, to and from the said jurisdiction, and the town of Geneva.

Art. LXXX.—His Majesty the King of Sardinia cedes that part of Savoy which is situated between the river Arve, the Rhone, the limits of that part of Savoy ceded to France, and the mountain of Salve, as far as Veiry inclusive, together with that part which lies between the high road called that of the Simplon, the Lake of Geneva, and the present territory of the canton of Geneva, from Venezas to the point where the river of Hermance crosses the said road, and from thence, following the course of that river to where it enters the Lake of Geneva, to the east of the village of Hermance (the whole of the road of the Simplon continuing to be possessed by his Majesty the King of Sardinia), in order that these countries shall be re-united to the canton of Geneva; with the reservation, however, of determining more precisely, by commissioners respectively, their limits, particularly of that part which relates to the demarcation above Veiry and on the mountain of Salve; his said Majesty, renouncing for himself and his successors, in perpetuity, without exception or reservation, all rights of sovereignty, or other rights which may belong to him in the places and territories comprised within this demarcation.

His Majesty the King of Sardinia also agrees, that the communication between the canton of Geneva and the Vallais, by the road of the Simplon, shall be established, in the same manner as it has been agreed to by France, between Geneva and the canton of Vaud, by the route of Versoy. A free communication shall also be at all times granted for the Genevese troops, between the territory of Geneva and the jurisdiction of Jussy, and such facilities shall be allowed as may be necessary for proceeding by the Lake to the road of the Simplon.

On the other hand, an exemption from all duties of transit shall be granted for all merchandise and goods which, coming from the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia and the free port of Genoa, shall traverse the road called the Simplon in its whole extent through the Vallais and the state of Geneva. This exemption shall, however, be confined to the transit, and shall extend neither to the tolls established for the maintenance of the road, nor to duties levied on merchandise or goods intended to be sold or consumed in the interior. The reservation shall apply to the communication granted to the Swiss between the Vallais and the canton of Geneva; and the different governments shall, for this purpose, take such measures as, by common agreement, they shall judge necessary, either for taxation or for preventing contraband trade in their territories, respectively.

Art. LXXXI.—With a view to the establishing of reciprocal compensations, the cantons of Argovia, Vaud, Tessin, and St. Gall, shall furnish to the ancient cantons of Schwitz, Unterwald, Uri, Glaris, Zug, and Appenzell (*Rhode Interior*), a sum of money to be applied to purposes of public instruction, and to the expenses of general administration, but principally to the former object, in the said cantons. The quota, manner of payment, and division of this pecuniary compensation, are fixed as follows:—

The cantons of Argovia, Vaud, and St. Gall, shall furnish to the cantons of Schwitz, Unterwald, Uri, Zug, Glaris, and Appenzell (*Rhode Interior*), a fund of 500,000 Swiss livres.

Each of the former cantons shall pay the interest of its quota, at the rate of five per cent. per annum, or have the option of discharging the principal either in money or funded property.

The division, either of the payment or receipt of these funds, shall be made according to the scale of contributions laid down for providing the federal expenses.

The canton of Tessin shall pay every year to the canton of Uri, a moiety of the produce of the tolls in the Levantine valley.

Art. LXXXII.—To put an end to the discussions which have arisen, with respect to the funds placed in England by the cantons of Zurich and Berne, it is determined :—

1. That the cantons of Berne and Zurich shall preserve the property of the funded capital as it existed in 1803, at the period of the dissolution of the Helvetic government, and shall receive the interest thereof from January 1st, 1815.

2. That the accumulated interest due since the year 1798, up to the year 1814, inclusive, shall be applied to the payment of the remaining capital of the national debt, known under the denomination of the Helvetic debt.

3. That the surplus of the Helvetic debt shall remain at the charge of the other cantons, those of Berne and Zurich being exonerated by the above engagement. The quota of each of the cantons, which remain charged with this surplus, shall be calculated and paid according to the proportion fixed for the contributions destined to defray federal expenses. The countries incorporated with Switzerland since 1813 shall not be assessed on account of the old Helvetic debt.

If it shall happen that an overplus remains after discharging the above debt, that overplus shall be divided between the cantons of Berne and Zurich, in the proportion of their respective capitals.

The same regulations shall be observed with regard to those other debts the documents concerning which are deposited in the custody of the president of the diet.

Art. LXXXIII.—To conciliate disputes respecting *landes* abolished without indemnification, an indemnity shall be given to persons who are owners of such *landes*; and for the purpose of avoiding all further differences on this subject between the cantons of Berne and Vaud, the latter shall pay to the government of Berne the sum of 300,000 Swiss livres, which shall be shared between the Bernese claimants, proprietors of *landes*. The payments shall be made at the rate of a fifth part each year, commencing from January 1st, 1816.

Art. LXXXIV.—The declaration of the 20th of March, addressed by the Allied Powers who signed the treaty of Paris, to the diet of the Swiss confederation, and accepted by the diet through the act of adhesion of May 27th, is confirmed in the whole of its tenor; and the principles established, as also the arrangements agreed upon, in the said declaration, shall be invariably maintained.

Art. LXXXV.—The frontiers of the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia shall be :—

On the side of France, such as they were on the 1st of January, 1792, with the exception of the changes effected by the Treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814.

On the side of the Helvetic Confederation, such as they existed on the 1st of January, 1792, with the exception of the change produced by the cession in favour of the canton of Geneva, as specified by the eightieth article of the present act.

On the side of the states of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, such as they existed on the 1st of January, 1792; and the convention concluded between their Majesties the Empress Maria Theresa, and the King of Sardinia, on the 4th of October, 1761, shall be reciprocally confirmed in all its stipulations.

On the side of the states of Parma and Placentia, the frontiers, as far as concerns the ancient states of the King of Sardinia, shall continue to be the same as they were on the 1st of January, 1792.

The borders of the former states of Genoa, and of the countries called Imperial Fiefs, united to the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, according to the following articles, shall be the same as those which, on the 1st of January, 1792, separated those countries from the states of Parma and Placentia, and from those of Tuscany and Massa.

The island of Capraja, having belonged to the ancient republic of Genoa, is included in the cession of the states of Genoa to his Majesty the King of Sardinia.

Art. LXXXVI. — The states which constituted the former republic of Genoa are

united in perpetuity to those of his Majesty the King of Sardinia; to be, like the latter, possessed by him in full sovereignty and hereditary property, and to descend in the male line, in the order of primogeniture, to the two branches of his house, viz. the royal branch and the branch of Savoy Carignan.

Art. LXXXVII.—The King of Sardinia shall add to his present titles that of Duke of Genoa.

Art. LXXXVIII.—The Genoese shall enjoy all the rights and privileges, specified in the act intitled “Conditions which are to serve as the bases of the union of the Genoese States to those of his Sardinian Majesty;” and the said act, such as it is annexed to this general treaty, shall be considered as an integral part thereof, and shall have the same force and validity as if it were textually inserted in the present article.

Art. LXXXIX.—The countries called Imperial Fiefs, formerly united to the ancient Ligurian Republic, are definitively united to the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, in the same manner as the rest of the Genoese states; and the inhabitants of these countries shall enjoy the same rights and privileges as those of the states of Genoa, specified in the preceding article.

Art. XC.—The right that the powers who signed the Treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814, reserved to themselves by the third article of that treaty, of fortifying such points of their states as they might judge proper for their safety, is equally reserved without restriction to his Majesty the King of Sardinia.

Art. XCI.—His Majesty the King of Sardinia cedes to the canton of Geneva the districts of Savoy, designated in the eightieth article above recited, according to the conditions specified in the act intitled “Cession made by his Majesty the King of Sardinia to the canton of Geneva.” This act shall be considered as an integral part of this general treaty, to which it is annexed, and shall have the same force and validity as if it were textually inserted in the present article.

Art. XCII.—The provinces of Chablais and Faucigny, and the whole of the territory of Savoy to the north of Ugine, belonging to his Majesty the King of Sardinia, shall form a part of the neutrality of Switzerland, as it is recognized and guaranteed by the powers.

Whenever, therefore, the neighbouring powers to Switzerland are in a state of open or impending hostility, the troops of his Majesty the King of Sardinia which may be in those provinces, shall retire, and may for that purpose pass through the Vallais, if necessary. No other armed troops of any other power shall have the privilege of passing through or remaining in the said territories and provinces, excepting those which the Swiss confederation shall think proper to place there; it being well understood, that this state of things shall not in any manner interrupt the administration of these countries, in which the civil agents of his Majesty the King of Sardinia may likewise employ the municipal guard for the preservation of good order.

Art. XCIII.—In pursuance of the renunciations agreed upon by the Treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814, the powers who sign the present treaty recognize his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, his heirs, and successors, as legitimate sovereign of the provinces and territories which had been ceded, either wholly or in part, by the treaties of Campo Formio, of 1797; of Lunéville, of 1801; of Presburg, of 1806; by the additional convention of Fontainebleau, of 1807; and by the treaty of Vienna, of 1809; the possession of which provinces and territories his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty obtained in consequence of the last war; such as

Istria, (Austrian as well as heretofore Venetian) Dalmatia, the ancient Venetian isles of the Adriatic, the mouths of the Cattaro, the city of Venice, with its waters, as well as the other provinces and districts of the formerly Venetian States of the Terra Firma, upon the bank of the Adige, the duchies of Milan and Mantua, the principalities of Brixen and Trento, the county of Tyrol, the Vorarlberg, the Austrian Frioul, the ancient Venetian Frioul, the territory of Montefalcone, the government and town of Trieste, Carniola, Upper Carinthia, Croatia on the right of the Save, Fiume, and the Hungarian *Littorale*, and the district of Castua.

Art. XCIV.—His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty shall unite to his monarchy, to be possessed by him and his successors, in full property and sovereignty:—

1. Besides the portions of Terra Firma in the Venetian states mentioned in the preceding article, the other part of those states, as well as all other territory situated between the Tessin, the Po, and the Adriatic sea.

2. The vallies of the Valteline, of Bormio, and of Chiavenna.

3. The territories which formerly composed the republic of Ragusa.

Art. XCV.—In consequence of the stipulations agreed upon in the preceding articles, the frontiers of the states of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, in Italy, shall be:—

1. On the side of the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, such as they were on the 1st of January, 1702.

2. On the side of Parma, Piacentia, and Guastalla, the course of the Po, the line of demarcation following the *Thalweg* of the river.

3. On the side of the states of Modena, such as they were on the 1st of January, 1702.

4. On the side of the Papal states, the course of the Po, as far as the mouth of the Goro.

5. On the side of Switzerland, the ancient frontier of Lombardy, and that which separates the vallies of Valteline, of Bormio, and Chiavenna, from the cantons of the Grisons, and the Tessino.

In those places where the *Thalweg* of the Po forms the frontier, it is agreed, that the changes which the course of the river may undergo shall not, in future, in any way affect the property of the islands therein contained.

Art. XCVI.—The general principles adopted by the congress at Vienna for the navigation of rivers, shall be applicable to that of the Po.

Commissioners shall be named by the states bordering on rivers, within three months at latest after the termination of the congress, to regulate all that concerns the execution of the present article.

*Art. XCVII.—As it is indispensable to preserve to the establishment known by the name of the Mont-Napoleon at Milan, the means of fulfilling its engagements towards its creditors; it is agreed, that the landed and other immoveable property of this establishment, in countries which formed part of the ancient kingdom of Italy, and have since passed under the government of different princes of Italy, as well as the capital belonging to the said establishment placed out at interest in these different countries, shall be appropriated to the same object.

The unfunded and unliquidated debts of the Mont-Napoleon, such as those arising from the arrears of its charges, or from any other increase of the outgoings of this establishment, shall be divided between the territories which composed the late kingdom of Italy; and this division shall be regulated according to the joint bases of their population and revenue.

The sovereigns of the said countries shall appoint commissioners, within the space of three months, dating from the termination of the congress, to arrange with

Austrian commissioners whatever relates to this object. This commission shall assemble at Milan.

Art. XCVIII.—His Royal Highness the Archduke Francis d'Este, his heirs, and successors, shall possess, in full sovereignty, the duchies of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola, such as they existed at the signature of the treaty of Campo Formio.

The Archduchess Maria Beatrice d'Este, her heirs, and successors, shall possess in full sovereignty and property, the duchy of Massa, and the principality of Carrara, as well as the Imperial Fiefs in La Lunigiana.

The latter may be applied to the purpose of exchanges, or other arrangements made by common consent, and according to mutual convenience, with his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

The rights of succession and reversion, established in the branches of the Archducal houses of Austria, relative to the duchies of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola, and the principalities of Massa and Carrara, are preserved.

Art. XCIX.—Her Majesty the Empress Maria Louisa shall possess, in full property and sovereignty, the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, with the exception of the districts lying within the states of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty on the left bank of the Po.

The reversion of these countries shall be regulated by common consent with the courts of Austria, Russia, France, Spain, England, and Prussia; due regard being had to the rights of reversion of the house of Austria, and of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, to the said countries.

Art. C.—His Imperial Highness the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria is re-established, himself, his heirs, and successors, in all the rights of sovereignty and property, in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and its dependencies, which he possessed previous to the Treaty of Luneville.

The stipulations of the second article of the Treaty of Vienna, of the 3d of October, 1735, between the Emperor Charles VI. and the King of France, to which the other powers acceded, are fully renewed in favour of his Imperial Highness and his descendants, as well as the guarantees resulting from those stipulations.

There shall be likewise united to the said grand duchy, to be possessed in full property and sovereignty by the Grand Duke Ferdinand, his heirs, and descendants:—

1. The state of the Presidii.

2. That part of the island of Elba, and its appurtenances, which were under the *suzeraineté* of his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies before the year 1801.

3. The *suzeraineté* and sovereignty of the principalities of Piombino and its dependencies.

Prince Ludovisi Buoncompagni shall retain, for himself and his legitimate successors, all the property which his family possessed in the principality of Piombino, and the island of Elba and its dependencies, previously to the occupation of those countries by the French troops in 1799, together with the mines, founderies, and salt mines.

The Prince Ludovisi shall likewise preserve his right of fishery, and enjoy an entire exemption from duties, as well for the exportation of the produce of his mines, founderies, salt mines, and domains, as for the importation of wood and other articles necessary for the working of mines: he shall be also indemnified by his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, for all the revenues the family of the latter derived from the crown duties before the year 1801. In case any difficulties should arise in the valuation of this indemnity, the parties concerned shall refer the decision to the courts of Vienna and Sardinia.

4. The late Imperial Fiefs of Vernio, Montanto, and Monte Santa Maria, lying within the Tuscan states.

Art. CI.—The principality of Lucca shall be possessed in full sovereignty by her Majesty the Infant Maria Louisa, and her descendants in the direct male line.

The principality is erected into a duchy, and shall have a form of government founded upon the principles of that which it received in 1805.

An annuity of 500,000 francs shall be added to the revenue of the principality of Lucca, which his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, engage to pay regularly, as long as circumstances do not admit of procuring another establishment for her Majesty the Infant Maria Louisa, her son, and his descendants. This annuity shall be specially mortgaged upon the lordships in Bohemia, known by the name of Bavaro-Palatine; which, in case of the duchy of Lucca reverting to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, shall be freed from this charge, and shall again form a part of the private domain of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty.

Art. CII.—The duchy of Lucca shall revert to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; either in case of its becoming vacant by the death of her Majesty the Infant Maria Louisa, or of her son Don Carlos, and of their male descendants; or in case the Infant Maria Louisa or her heirs should obtain any other establishment, or succeed to any other branch of their dynasty.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, however, engages, should the said reversion fall to him, to cede to the Duke of Modena, as soon as he shall have entered into possession of the principality of Lucca, the following territories:—

1. The Tuscan districts of Tivizzano, Pietra Santa, and Barga.
2. The Lucca districts of Castiglione, and Galliciano, lying within the states of Modena, as well as those of Minucciano and Monte-Ignose, contiguous to the country of Massa.

Art. CIII.—The Marches, with Camerino, and their dependencies, as well as the duchy of Benevento and the principality of Ponte-Corvo, are restored to the Holy See.

The Holy See shall resume possession of the legations of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara, with the exception of that part of Ferrara which is situated on the left bank of the Po.

His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty and his successors shall have the right of placing garrisons at Ferrara and Comacchio.

The inhabitants of the countries who return under the government of the Holy See, in consequence of the stipulations of congress, shall enjoy the benefit of the sixteenth article of the Treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814.

All acquisitions made by individuals in virtue of a title acknowledged as legal by the existing laws, are to be considered as good, and the arrangements necessary for the guarantee of the public debt and the payment of pensions, shall be settled by a particular convention between the courts of Rome and Vienna.

Art. CIV.—His Majesty King Ferdinand IV. for himself, his heirs, and successors, is restored to the throne of Naples, and his Majesty is acknowledged by the powers as King of the Two Sicilies.

Art. CV.—The powers, recognizing the justice of the claims of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal and the Brazils, upon the town of Olivença, and the other territories ceded to Spain, by the Treaty of Badajoz, of 1801, and viewing the restitution of the same as a measure necessary to insure that perfect and constant harmony between the two kingdoms of the peninsula, the preservation of which in all parts of Europe, has been the constant object of their arrangements, formally engage to use their utmost endeavours, by amicable means, to procure the retrocession of the said territories, in favour of Portugal. And the powers declare, as far as depends upon them, that this arrangement shall take place as soon as possible.

Art. CVI.—In order to remove the difficulties which opposed the ratification on the part of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of the kingdoms of Portugal and

the Brazil, of the treaty signed on the 30th of May, 1814, between Portugal and France; it is determined, that the stipulations contained in the tenth article of that treaty, and all those which relate to it, shall be of no effect, and that, with the consent of all the powers, the provisions contained in the following article shall be substituted for them, and which shall alone be considered as valid: with this exception, all the other clauses of the above Treaty of Paris shall be maintained, and regarded as mutually binding on the two courts.

Art. CVII.—His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of the kingdoms of Portugal and the Brazil, wishing to give an unequivocal proof of his high consideration for his most Christian Majesty, engages to restore French Guiana to his said Majesty, as far as the river Oyapock, the mouth of which is situated between the fourth and fifth degree of north latitude, and which has always been considered by Portugal as the limit appointed by the Treaty of Utrecht.

The period for giving up this colony shall be determined, as soon as circumstances shall permit, by a particular convention between the two courts; and they shall enter into an amicable arrangement, as soon as possible, with regard to the definitive demarcation of the limits of Portuguese and French Guiana, conformably to the precise meaning of the eighth article of the Treaty of Utrecht.

Art. CVIII.—The powers whose states are separated or crossed by the same navigable river, engage to regulate, by common consent, all that regards its navigation. For this purpose they will name commissioners, who shall assemble, at latest, within six months after the termination of the congress, and who shall adopt, as the bases of their proceedings, the principles established by the following articles.

Art. CIX.—The navigation of the rivers, along their whole course, referred to in the preceding article, from the point where each of them becomes navigable, to its mouth, shall be entirely free, and shall not, in respect to commerce, be prohibited to any one; it being understood, that the regulations established with regard to the police of this navigation shall be respected; as they will be framed alike for all, and as favourable as possible to the commerce of all nations.

Art. CX.—The system that shall be established both for the collection of the duties, and for the maintenance of the police, shall be, as nearly as possible, the same along the whole course of the river; and shall also extend, unless particular circumstances prevent it, to those of its branches and junctions, which, in their navigable course, separate or traverse different states.

Art. CXI.—The duties on navigation shall be regulated in an uniform and settled manner, and with as little reference as possible to the different quality of the merchandise, in order that a minute examination of the cargo may be rendered unnecessary, except with a view to prevent fraud and evasion. The amount of the duties, which shall in no case exceed those now paid, shall be determined by local circumstances, which scarcely allow of a general rule in this respect. The tariff shall, however, be prepared in such a manner as to encourage commerce by facilitating navigation; for which purposes, the duties established upon the Rhine, and now in force on that river, may serve as an approximating rule for its construction.

The tariff once settled, no increase shall take place therein, except by the common consent of the states bordering on the rivers; nor shall the navigation be burthened with any other duties than those fixed in the regulation.

Art. CXII.—The offices for the collection of duties, the number of which shall be reduced as much as possible, shall be determined upon in the above regulation, and no change shall afterwards be made, but by common consent, unless any of the

states bordering on the rivers should wish to diminish the number of those which exclusively belong to the same.

Art. CXIII.—Each state bordering on the rivers is to be at the expense of keeping in good repair the towing paths which pass through its territory, and of maintaining the necessary works through the same extent in the channels of the river, in order that no obstacle may be experienced to the navigation.

The intended regulation shall determine the manner in which the states bordering on the rivers are to participate in these latter works, where the opposite banks belong to different governments.

Art. CXIV.—There shall no where be established store-house, port, or forced harbour duties. Those already existing shall be preserved for such time only as the states bordering on rivers (without regard to the local interest of the place or the country where they are established) shall find them necessary or useful to navigation and commerce in general.

Art. CXV.—The custom-houses belonging to the states bordering on rivers shall not interfere in the duties of navigation. Regulations shall be established to prevent officers of the customs, in the exercise of their functions, throwing obstacles in the way of the navigation; but care shall be taken, by means of a strict police on the bank, to preclude every attempt of the inhabitants to smuggle goods, through the medium of boatmen.

Art. CXVI.—Every thing expressed in the preceding articles shall be settled by a general arrangement, in which there shall be comprised whatever may need an ulterior determination.

The arrangement once settled, shall not be changed, but by and with the consent of all the states bordering on rivers, and they shall take care to provide for its execution with due regard to circumstances and locality.

Art. CXVII.—The particular regulations relative to the navigation of the Rhine, the Necker, the Maine, the Moselle, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, such as they are annexed to the present act, shall have the same force and validity as if they were textually inserted herein.

Art. CXVIII.—The treaties, conventions, declarations, regulations, and other particular acts which are annexed to the present act, viz.—

1. The treaty between Russia and Austria of the 21st of April, (3d May,) 1815;
2. The treaty between Russia and Prussia of the 21st of April, (3d May,) 1815;
3. The additional treaty relative to Cracow, between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, of the 21st of April, (3d May,) 1815;
4. The treaty between Prussia and Saxony, of the 18th of May, 1815;
5. The declaration of the King of Saxony respecting the rights of the house of Schönburg, of the 18th of May, 1815;
6. The treaty between Prussia and Hanover, of the 29th of May, 1815;
7. The convention between Prussia and the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, of the 1st of June, 1815;
8. The convention between Prussia and the Duke and Prince of Nassau, of the 31st of May, 1815;
9. The act concerning the Federative Constitution of Germany, of the 8th of June, 1815.
10. The treaty between the King of the Netherlands, and Prussia, England, Austria, and Russia, of the 31st of May, 1815;
11. The declaration of the powers on the affairs of the Helvetic Confederation of the 20th of March, and the Act of Accession of the Diet, of the 28th of May, 1815;
12. The protocol of the 29th of March, 1815, on the cessions made by the King of Sardinia to the canton of Geneva;

13. The treaty between the King of Sardinia, Austria, England, Russia, Prussia, and France, of the 21st of May, 1815 ;

14. The act intitled " Conditions which are to serve as the bases of the Union of the States of Genoa with those of his Sardinian Majesty ;"

15. The declaration of the Powers on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, of the 8th of February, 1815 ;

16. The regulations respecting the free navigation of rivers ;

17. The regulation concerning the precedence of diplomatic agents ;

Shall be considered as integral parts of the arrangements of the congress, and shall have, throughout, the same force and validity as if they were inserted word for word in the general treaty.

Art. CXIX.—All the powers assembled in congress, as well as the princes and free towns, who have concurred in the arrangements specified, and in the acts confirmed in this general treaty, are invited to accede to it.

Art. CXX.—The French language having been exclusively employed in all the copies of the present treaty, it is declared by the powers who have concurred in this act, that the use made of that language shall not be construed into a precedent for the future ; every power, therefore, reserves to itself the adoption, in future negotiations and conventions, of the language it has heretofore employed in its diplomatic relations ; and this treaty shall not be cited as a precedent contrary to the established practice.

Art. CXXI.—The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in six months, and by the court of Portugal in a year, or sooner, if possible.

A copy of this general treaty shall be deposited in the archives of the court and state of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, at Vienna, in case any of the courts of Europe shall think proper to consult the original text of this instrument.

In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this act, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Vienna, the 9th of June, in the year of our Lord 1815.

(The signatures follow in the alphabetical order of the courts.)

Austria (L.S.) THE PRINCE DE METTERNICH.
(L.S.) THE BARON DE WESSENBERG.

Spain.

France (L.S.) THE PRINCE DE TALLEYRAND.
(L.S.) THE DUKE DE DALBERG.
(L.S.) THE COUNT ALEXIS DE NOAILLES.

Great Britain.. (L.S.) CLANCARTY.
(L.S.) CATHCART.
(L.S.) STEWART, L. G.

Portugal (L.S.) THE COMTE DE PALMELLA.
(L.S.) ANTONIA DE SALDANHA DE GAMA.
(L.S.) D. JOAQUIM LOBO DA SILVEIRA.

Prussia..... (L.S.) THE PRINCE DE HARDENBERG.
(L.S.) THE BARON DE HUMBOLDT.

Russia..... (L.S.) THE PRINCE DE RASOUMOFFSKY.
(L.S.) THE COUNT DE STACKELBERG.
(L.S.) THE COUNT DE NESSELRODE.

Sweden (L.S.) THE COUNT CHARLES AXEL DE LOWENHJELM.

Save and except the reservation made to the articles one hundred and one, one hundred and two, and one hundred and four, of the Treaty. .

FINIS.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX

TO THE

HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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